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TO BE OR NOT TO BE... PERSPECTIVES IN ETHNOLOGY

MIHÁLY HOPPÁL

ABSTRACT

The article surveys the recent/current developments in the intellectual approach of contemporary society. Some disciplines or methods, such as the one coming under the both particular and all-including concept of ethnosemiotics, are also re-analysed. Challenges to the academic handling and reshaping of concepts are underlined. Current facts (such as neonationalism, terrorism, diaspora, globalism) require critical revisions or new perspectives to be launched in and for the ethnology. Hungarian contributions over the last decades are mentioned.

Keywords: Ethnology, Anthropology, Ethnosemiotics, Identity, Globalism.

It seems that "rethinking" has become an anthropological pastime among professional ethnologists. It was more than three decades ago that Paul Bohannan published his article *Rethinking Culture* with the subtitle "A Project for Current Anthropologists" in one of the most respected journals of our field (Bohannan 1972). I still remember the profound effect o this way of thinking on my intellectual ancestor, the young ethnologist/folklorist, who had just returned from his first study trip from Soviet Union, after having studied the ideas (and publications) of the Russian scholars who belonged to the Moscow–Tartu semiotic circle. In those formative years I was searching for a general model or theory in order to understand culture, so Bohannan's ideas on culture as a repository for information or as an "encoded storage mechanism" (1972: 361) seemed to be in harmony with those semiotic theories of my Russian colleagues on the "secondary modelling systems of culture".[1] Of course they did not know of each other's writings (except a few scholars in Central East Europe!). Those were the "heroic" years of the establishment of ethnosemiotics in different countries.[2]

With the decline of French structuralism and English speaking post-structuralism, there is a growing need for a well-constructed, clearly structured

[1] See Lotman et alii 1975.

[2] A. Greimas in France, Yu. Stepanov in Russia, M. Hoppál and V. Voigt in Hungary; see Grafik–Hoppál–Voigt 1976, Hoppál 1983, Voigt–Hoppál 2003.

meta-theory. Semiotics, the general theory of signs, was a promise in that direction. As a result of the untiring organising work of Hungarian Thomas A. Sebeok, the second half of the 1980's saw the appearance of volume after volume reflecting the current state of semiotics under the serial title *The Semiotic Web*, where issues 1986, 1987 and 1988 amounted to almost two thousand pages. The volumes presented the outstanding figures of semiotic research[3] and their work, as well as the research efforts taking place in the different countries of the world (Australia, Canada, Mexico, France, Vietnam, Iceland, Nigeria etc.). In these reports, critical reviews and in the work of every country we find references to the semiotic aspect of different cultures.[4] The same period saw the appearance of works which were novel in devoting an entire chapter to ethnosemiotics.[5] The new *Handbook of Semiotics*, though a grand and venerable effort, is flawed in its basic concept. Although on the level of reference it mentions ethnosemiotics (Nöth 1990: 5, 34), the results, articles and essays produced in Eastern Europe and Russia are entirely missing from the volume, probably due to language difficulties, even though in these years the most important "eastern" achievements were already accessible,[6] as were some of the seminal texts on the semiotic study of culture (see Lotman et alii 1975).

Rather ironically, if we look back on the beginnings of ethnosemiotics from a distance of decades, while American scholars were of predominantly Marxist sentiment,[7] Soviet-Russian researchers were clandestine anti-Marxists. American researchers "argued... for a new anthropology we are calling ethnosemiotics" (MacCannel–MacCannel 1982: 70). "The domain of ethnosemiotics is the study of interpretations that are generated by cultural differentiation" (MacCannel–MacCannel 1982: 72). Milton Singer, for example, urged the application of Piercean semiotics to the problem of culture theory and suggested that it can be called *semiotic anthropology*. "Semiotic anthropology is a pragmatic anthropology. It contains a theory of how systems of sings are related to the behaviour of the sign users" (Singer 1984: 50).

Hungarian and other Central European (as well as Russian) researchers had a different take on scholarly challenges. For them, ethnosemiotics was a means not of political but of cultural analysis.[8] They examined the different languages of culture, e.g. literature, myths, folklore narratives and rituals.[9] Most of them were coming from linguistics and folklore studies but were working to lay the

[3] Such as Umberto Eco, Algirdas J. Greimas, Jurij M. Lotman, Masao Yamaguchi, Edwin Ardener, Mikhail M. Bakhtin, Paul Bouisac and Jakob von Uexküll among many others.

[4] Sebeok–Umiker–Sebeok 1988.

[5] MacCannel–MacCannel 1982: 68-84, Singer 1984: 32-52, Sebeok 1986: 235-237.

[6] E.g. in the form of bibliographies, see Lucid 1977, Eimermacher 1987.

[7] Especially Dean MacCannel 1982: 204 – see his references to Marx's works.

[8] Grafik–Hoppal–Voigt 1976, Hoppal 1983, Voigt–Hoppál 2003.

[9] S. Marcus, M. Pop, V. Voigt, B. Benes, V. V. Ivanov, V. N. Toporov, B. Ogibenin, J. M. Lotman, A. Krikman, J. M. Meletinsky.

foundations of the semiotics of culture.[10] What we have said so far clearly reveals that the semiotic analysis of knowledge about ethnographic facts (*épistémè ethnographique*) was envisaged in a general cultural frame and context. This flexible methodology is what offers itself for further development in the future and can bring the continued broadening of semiotic research in countries such as Japan, China and the Latin-American countries where traditional (popular, peasant) village culture still offers excellent material for ethnosemiotic research. This does not mean that the phenomena of contemporary urban life do not offer food for (ethno)semiotic research since ethnosemiotics can apply its investigations to any area of culture This is one reason why we are convinced that ethnosemiotic studies have a future, because analyses of this kind allow us to explore the inner regularities of the working of cultures.

The postmodernist turn which, similarly to other areas of social science, took place in ethnology some time in the 1980's manifested itself, among other things, in foregrounding description as text – such as accounts of field experience or descriptions of the given culture (Clifford–Marcus 1986). The theory of "inventing tradition" became very fashionable (Hobsbawm–Ranger 1983), meaning that so-called national traditions were essentially constructed by national ethnographies in the second half of the 19th and first part of the 20th century.[11]

Postmodernist anthropology was essentially the fashion of the end of the last century where the material base was the development of industrial production (for a long time this was a process of genuine growth and development), the ideological base consisted of materialist Marxism and globalisation (Fridman 1994). What is common about these two ideologies, besides negating the values of local cultures, is that they see themselves as higher than particular cultures, as unmistakeably useful, while any given historical situation is but a necessary station of development. One form in which this manifests itself and which enjoys the support of ideologists everywhere today is multiculturalism. This means being positioned outside of culture with the natural consequence that the identity of the local population, local communities were deliberately denied and every possible effort was made to merge the traits which differentiate the various groups from each other – in other words for a denial of identity.

The question of identity in the societies of today has a lot to do with the way the term identity is being interpreted as a concept. Traditionally it has been looked at as an associational bond, or a sense of belonging that draws its legitimacy from a historical legacy and ties a social group by the spirit of mutual concern and support, as well as a feeling of recognition and security. As such, identity is deemed to bridge the past with the future and to tie them both to the present.

[10] Cf. Koch 1986, Eschbach–Koch 1987, Voigt 1977, 2008, Broms–Kaufman 1988.

[11] We must note that the process itself has still not stopped since with the appearance of ever newer nation states each new nation feels the need to construct their own territorial and historical mythology. See Gingrich–Banks 2006, on neonationalism.

Furthermore, it inclines to bestow holiness on ancestors' legacy. The interpretation of identity from such a perspective does recognize that identities stem from different cultures and recognizes as well the multiplicity of identities within a context of cultural diversity. However, it might overlook the fact that an identity is a composite of several elements which undergo, collectively or individually, continuous transformations that necessarily entail a restructuring of the hierarchy of those elements, let alone a reconsideration of the very existence of a number of them.

In our contemporary life, the transformations which are caused by internal and external developments are fast and influential. Their implications on the distinctive features of an identity are becoming quite drastic, to the extent that the reaction to those transformations, and the implications need special scrutiny. Probably it is hard to draw a dividing line between what is internal and what is external in the set of interwoven developments that take place nowadays, mainly because they induce a chain of reactions and interrelated effects. Still we can safely assume that the educational and the economic developments lead the internal developments, while globalization presents itself as the overwhelming external development that has marked the contemporary society with its distinctive imprints. If singled out as the major external development, we find globalization rightly or wrongly being accused of prototyping, thus of posing a major threat to cultural diversity and to identity preservation.

Any group sees its own identity as a very important issue, thus in the ethnology of the future the examination of multiple identities associated with ethnic or minority existence may play an important part. Therefore problems such as diaspora existence[12] are important in developing the survival strategy of small ethnic groups. The voice of ethnic minorities is growing ever louder and even in the largest countries (such as China and India) the population has to learn to open its ears to this voice. This is partly the case because they represent political power and have the potential, with the help of the global media, to appear on the world stage. The Word Wide Web is particularly helpful in this respect. The internet is developing its own folklore, virtual communities are being formed, resistance movements (such as Al Quaida) use it to communicate with each other; shamans and all kinds of healers are offering their help, religious movements use the net to recruit their members.[13]

The culture and folklore of small ethnic groups has come to be seen as greatly valuable in the recent past, partly because it is only the knowledge of these local cultures that can help in preserving local ecological balance. By relying on "local science" and "indigenous knowledge" (Sillitoe 2007) we can learn about the effect and chemical mechanisms of medical herbs, optimise the use of soil and

[12] See Balogh–Ilyés 2006.
[13] See Leung 2005, Apolito 2005, Lindquist 2006.

water, make use of conservation techniques or employ architectural and gastronomic methods in the service of tourism, to mention but a few possibilities. We predict the intense development of eco-ethnology in the near future.

The increased value of local traditions is indicated by the fact that in 2003 UNESCO has accepted the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. This way the culture of small local communities has been declared a value and this is particularly true of items which become incorporated in the national or international representative lists. Hundreds of thousands of tourists, upon hearing this, will become curious to see the local ritual tradition, costume or to taste the foods, which might start a process of commercialisation.[14] It was observable that over the past decade the focus of anthropological research has turned (true, in alliance with sociology) toward youth. This keen interest is completely justified, since young people represent the future. We might even say that today's young generation shows what the future is going to be like. The beliefs and value choices of young people (Helve–Bynner 1996), as well as their view of the world will significantly influence the social decisions of the coming decades. The *cultural capital* (to use Pierre Bourdieu's phrase) which they accumulate today during their studies, will determine their identity and provide a secure social capital, in other words material and moral base, for their decisions (on the concept of "social capital" see Baron–Field–Schuller 2000, Helve–Bynner 2007: 30–41).

In a transforming world young people are the motors of change and thus the processes which characterise this group today will become even stronger in the future – thus for example the strengthening of individual identity and growing individualisation within the community both threaten the inner balance of small communities (Giddens 1991, Furlong–Cartnel 1997). All of these are typical phenomena of globalisation and so ethnology must pay attention to them in the future.

Another similarly "fashionable" postmodernist subject that is equally important in terms of its social impact is that of aging (Featherstone–Wernick 1995). Using the analogy of the baby boom, some scholars humorously speak of the *aging boom* or *papy boom* (Roy–Russel 1992) to describe the phenomenon whereby the number of old people has grown considerably in certain countries (especially in Europe) and has actually exceeded that of young people, which is threatening economic balance. The discourse on old people today is dominated by economic language use, as Tünde Turai pointed out in a paper.[15] The problem is that the social welfare and pension system of European democracies may become seriously endangered as a result of high unemployment, jobs closing down because of globalisation, which is further exacerbated by worldwide migration.

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[14] The Bulgarian customs associated with the *kukeri* masks are a good example – this is what Giovanni Kezich and I saw together! I strongly suspect that these masks will give ethnologists plenty of work in the future.

[15] Cf. Müller 1999, Nelson 2002.

Over the past decades, millions of people have left their homes and become migrants partly owing to local wars (e.g. Afghanistan), partly to the further deterioration of their economy (e.g. in certain African countries) or, to the contrary, as tourists in a worldwide movement of tourism starting from countries with a growing economy (Japan and China).

All of these cultural phenomena come under the common heading of globalisation which means that ethnology may well come to focus more on globalism – I hope not to prove an untrustworthy prophet. The investigation of migration phenomena has been long underway but anthropological examination into militant conflicts and peace-mediation is equally important (I must note that in the 1980's I was member of such a peace research committee). Tourism is itself a typical globalisation phenomenon moving ever greater crowds worldwide (particularly the organised groups of Japanese and now Chinese tourists) and these people come to constitute a new social class (*the leisure class* – MacCannel 1976). This phrase actually refers to the people who happen to be on holiday at any particular time, who want to see the world and, rather than just spend their money, wish to encounter strange, different cultures (to have the experience of the "Other" – Fabian 1983), to try out new, interesting foods, drinks, and habits. This means that we are witnessing the emergence of a "global culture", but at the same time local nationalist movements are also growing more powerful in certain areas (Featherstone 1990). In other words, local identities are affirming themselves, diffusing tasty local foods, wines, habits and games (Friedman 1994).

I am convinced that Eric Hobsbawm's theory on inventing tradition is fundamentally flawed (Hobsbawm– Ranger 1983). Tradition as a whole cannot be invented, nor even re-invigorated because it is something that is always there actively present in the heads of the people (folk/ethnos), the community, the individuals. Tradition as the sum total of the bits of knowledge which constitute and maintain identity will remains in the forefront of research. The invention of tradition is nonsense because it is analogous to saying that after Shakespeare the English language has to be reinvented or recreated from time to time. Naturally, all spoken languages, all cultures and all traditions change but here we are talking of a clash between two approaches among anthropologists: one group tends to foreground changes, while the other emphasises the relative stability of cultures, traditions, identity structures (and cognitive universes).

One such important cultural subsystem which aims to sustain identity is ideology, in other words the system of religion, myths and beliefs. All of these are strongly tied in with value systems. With regard to the latter, it has been pointed out by research over the past decades that they are highly resistant over time and tend to determine social decisions even after centuries.[16]

Being involved in comparative mythological research I can foresee that there is a lot waiting to be done in this field in the future. A monograph analysing the

[16] E.g. the ideas of Confucianism in contemporary China – Bell 2008.

motifs of Indo-European poetry and myths and the formulas of poetic language use cites a great many examples to prove that narrative motifs survive in folklore through millennia rather than centuries precisely owing to their linguistic embeddedness and rhythmical phonetics.[17] The ethnopoetic analysis of narrative texts is also among the tasks of the future.

Similarly, it is important to lay the foundations for a new, post-Lévi-Straussian theory of mythology – this is a task for the new generation of ethnologists. An important attempt has been made in this direction by a professor of Chicago University in his book on myths. In the Preface he offers a definition of "myth as ideology in narrative form" (Lincoln 1999: XII). The relevance of this question is one reason why we attribute great importance to a series of books which publishes descriptions of the mythological systems of Uralic/Finno-Ugric peoples in English after their original publication in Russian.[18]

For small peoples (usually referred to as *ethnic minorities)* it is extremely important that books and monographs of different sizes appear about their cultures. It is particularly important that they be published in foreign languages. This lends particular significance to journals such as the quarterly *China's Ethnic Groups*, published in English, which, with its excellent illustrations and descriptions presents the different minority groups living in China (2009 has been the ninth years of this publication). A strictly scholarly paper is *Anthropology and Archaeology of Eurasia* (edited by Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer), which offers a selection of papers and articles translated from the Russian and has been going on for over four decades. The editor has made special care to publish papers not only by Russian authors but also by "native anthropologists". One successful volume has presented precisely the way in which the ethnic identity of small peoples is regenerated – he used the phrase "reincarnation". One clear sign of this ethnic renaissance is the activity of shamans all over Siberia (Balzer 1990, 1995). I have observed the same elsewhere in Eurasia where local shamans are active again, practicing some sort of "social healing". We can safely say that today's shamanism works like a kind of spiritual ecology.[19] Shamanism is a particularly clear example of the way in which ethnology is rethinking its own boundaries and the areas of research. In the years around the turn of the last century and the decades directly preceding it there was an increase in monographs written by researchers who had done successful field work. These allowed us to come to understand certain details of local shamanism which could not even be suspected earlier (Atkinson 1992, Bacigalupo 2007, Balikci 2008). We are aware that in China a new generation of researchers is about to take over the task of research from a handful of aging scholars who had defied ideological oppression and researched relics of local

[17] West 2007: 501-503 – these pages quote a description of the death of Hun leader Attila from Jordanes' *Getica.*

[18] Naposkikh–Siikala–Hoppál 2003, 2006, 2008.

[19] Hoppál 2002, 2007, Hoppál et alii 2008.

shamanism (or shamanship, as Jane Atkinson had labelled it!), as well as the associated folklore and traditions (Hoppál–Bai 2008). The best papers of the recent years have been collected in thematic groups in a truly excellent reader published in England (Harvey 2003) in which attempts are made to explore the shamanistic roots of ancient Celtic traditions. Generally, the reawakening of neopagan traditions will provoke the ethnological community to think about and possibly rethink their views on cultural continuity!

There exists another research tendency within contemporary ethnology which looks far deeper than the pagan roots when trying to examine the emergence of religious ideas and beliefs. It investigates "the evolutionary origins of religious thought" (Boyer 2001). American professor Pascal Boyer thinks of culture as a memory pool in which units of knowledge or belief, which he terms *meme*, are analogous to genes in that they reproduce (re-copy) themselves and thus homogenise culture, creating similarity (Boyer 2001: 35).

Others would happily extend research, beyond psychology (and music – Mithen 2006), also to tangible culture (see Price 2001, Pearson 2002). If the methods of cognitive psychology are applied within archaeology, the emerging cognitive archaeology (Pearson 2002) will probably prove fruitful particularly if it involves a critical review of ideas about the origin of shamanism.[20]

Another area which we are convinced deserves more attention is the problematic of rock art. The examination of these drawn and carved images is of relevance to a number of areas, such as the problems of the pictorial representation of the emergence of certain beliefs (religious notions), to mention but the most important.[21] In the past it has been generally characteristic that western (particularly American) researchers did not read papers by scholars behind the iron curtain while eastern scholars were unable to read western literature. This situation is being gradually resolved through conferences like *The Archaeology of Shamanism* (see Price 2001) or by monographs which go beyond a simple publication of material,[22] which also try to explore the semantics of these mysterious depictions.

Particularly valuable from this point of view is the work of David Lewis-Williams who tries to trace the emergence of religious ideas and primal society through rock art as well as present the process of the development of human consciousness and art (Lewis-Williams 2002, 2004). An English researcher traces the history of the origin of music, language and consciousness, taking into account the latest findings of psychological research (Mithen 2006).

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[20] See Pearson 2002: 113-143, and Francfort–Hamayon 2001.

[21] There have been excellent monographs on this subject, particularly on the basis of previously unknown material from the vast Siberian and Eurasian areas – see Jacobson 1993; Devlet–Devlet 2000.

[22] Devlet–Devlet 2000, Rozwadowski 2004.

Speaking of the future of ethnology it is worth looking ahead, since there are two major conferences on the horizon – one in China and the other in Russia. The 8th Conference of Russian Ethnographers and Anthropologists, this time to be held in Orenburg (1–5 July 2009) is going to consist, according to plans, of eleven thematic symposia comprising forty section debates and roundtable talks. The thematic distribution of these is extremely interesting particularly if we compare them to the topics of the conference two years ago. The first thematic symposium, quite naturally, is devoted to regions inhabited by Russians; to the present ethnocultural situation and to the space in which Russians and other minor ethnic groups live together. Of the subjects so fashionable today, multiculturalism and "glocal" coexistence will be discussed in their different aspects. Some entirely new areas have also appeared (which never featured in the past) such as ethnopolitical-science (this includes the questions of interethnic conflicts and their solution) or ethnopedagogy, or the anthropology of the world of money and business or the ethnographic description of the world of the internet.

Naturally, the well-known old subjects also appear (such as evergreen visual anthropology with its film documentaries) which has led to some very serious results in the field of Russian (and Siberian) anthropology and ethnography.

CONCLUSION

Now, in the early part of the 21st century the future and perspectives of ethnology appear quite secure as it seems that there is a need to study the different characteristics of ethnic cultures. Although the classic age of colonisation is over, we are witnessing a process of second colonisation world wide – in the form of globalisation, which is no better than its forerunner in any respect. It is just as cruel and merciless as its distant forebear.

An ethnologist is someone whose work compels him or her to travel a lot, watching the world, seeing social and cultural phenomena close up. At the end of the 20th century it was quite easy to sense how the two world systems, socialism (communism) and capitalism (globalism) were affecting each other, drawing ever closer, and that instead of taking the best out of each other, they were realising the worst possible interaction. To mention but one example – an instance of hypocrisy – there has even been a correspondence on the level of slogans. "Socialism with a human face!" was the motto of the last few years of the 20th century. In 2003 in the Paris headquarters of UNESCO I saw the words, "Globalisation with a human face!" What is this trying to say? Is it possible that we find the same people in the background?

The Guardian published a very interesting article around April 10th 2009 by Eric Hobsbawm under the title *What is next?* Socialism has collapsed and capitalism has gone bankrupt, he claimed – both of these statements are true.

For my part, after a good forty years of field work what I can report is that on the boundaries of the two great world systems, in the tiny, godforsaken villages the ordinary people still gather together to celebrate their rituals (e.g. hold a traditional wedding with rituals spiced with fertility magic); they bury their dead according to traditions; shamans are once more offering initiation rites; animal sacrifices have been revived and even heroic epics are sung, not to mention more simple folk songs; the old dances are practiced again and so on. We are living a time of the revival of local traditions. Cultural memory is at work once more which leads to a strengthening identity in local communities (cf. the parade of Kukeri masks in Pernik, Bulgaria).

However, traditions are not only at work on festive occasions – people would willingly let them govern everyday life, too. A few months ago a Gypsy community living in Hungary proposed that they should elect a *vajda* who would take responsibility for all the family members belonging to him (as he knows everybody in the community). This is a return to a value system based on traditions.[23] We could cite a number of similar examples as it is quite clear that a growing sense of belonging to a community and the strengthening of identity are phenomena which the ethnological community must examine in the future. This is one more reason why we need to rethink the tasks of ethnology.

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[23] See *Tradition based society* – Hoppál 2001.

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VIRTUALLY HUMAN: SPACE AND CULTURE IN THE VIRTUAL WORLD

HEATHER J. MURPHY

ABSTRACT

This article deals with how space, gender, and notions of belonging in the sense of nationalist and personal identity frameworks are constructed and experienced in a virtual world. I will explore how issues of embodied understanding are altered when ones sensory aptitude switches from the "real world" to an invented, online world, and the consequences this has on how the overall game is experienced.

Keywords: Virtual, Human, Embodiment, Experience, Transnational, Proxemics, Gender.

There is a dance floor, and this dance floor is lit. On it lie small, equidistantly spaced boxes, arranged in a grid pattern. The lights from the floor modulate intensely, perhaps to compliment the bizarre and eccentric movements that take place on its surface. There is structure to this place: no-one hangs around aimlessly, or simply walks through, and in each area of dancing, all are synchronised, with every arm, body and leg movement precisely co-ordinated. Every person in this club is partaking in an activity; activities that follow strict rules, and activities that are designed, fixed and enforced. Like many rules, they only become apparent when they are broken. Suddenly, a loud bang is heard: a woman with a pet tiger runs through the club, and a shed appears on the dance floor. In real life, one might be rubbing one's eyes at this point, but this however, is not real life. The world you have entered is dissimilar to any you are likely to have encountered; you have entered Second Life.

INTRODUCTION

With technological advances enabling internet users from all over the world to interrelate with each other on a much greater scale, and with virtual

communication allowing ideas to be shared and projects to be embarked upon without participants ever needing to physically meet in "real life", as it were, it is of no surprise that the internet has been a breeding ground for social exchanges which may never otherwise have taken place. Internet users from the opposite side of the globe to each other can "meet" online, enter conversation, and, over time, come to build a legitimate relationship into which all parties often invest great amounts of time and emotion. Of course, there are many online platforms from which such an encounter can occur, and each has its own characteristics and principles which undoubtedly, if unconsciously, attribute to the type of relationship that its users go on to establish with each other. Textual-based chat rooms, for example, cause the participants to rely to a much greater extent upon the linguistic exchange, as that is all they have to interact with each other. On the other hand, a more graphic virtual environment not only relies on the textual exchange, but also on the way that a user chooses to present their avatar – literally, their virtual representation – to other users. With this in mind, then, it is arguable that the latter type of platform has much more influence on how its users interact, and as such may be thought of more in terms of a society group than the textual chat room. And of course, with that comes all the usual concepts and rules that we have come to recognise from a society – from the hierarchical power structures, to the etiquette rules, and from the gender stereotyping to the unspoken taboos. I will examine how the virtual space "Second Life" (hosted at: www.secondlife.com) has a very specific culture of its own, which has been curiously produced through the merging of cultures of its international users, and how space is construed in this ultimately space-less domain.

Second Life is a user-created virtual world, which enables "users to build virtual lives, with virtual bodies, virtual objects, and virtual homes, that can have *real tangible value and meaning*" (Jones 2008: 4, italics mine). Indeed, Second Life is much more than a virtual space. Its pixelated graphic environment, its use of colour, and the participants visible avatars all make it a greater sensory feast than the standard online chat room. The in-game currency, Linden Dollars, has a real world exchange rate with U.S Dollars, and as Boellstorff notes, "virtual worlds are places in their own right" (Boellstorff 2008: 112). Boellstorff's assertion naturally bears an idea of distinction between virtual space and real space, whereby although in the grander scheme of the internet, a domain space is entirely abstract and has no physical location, it is on the other hand "map-able" in the sense that it can be located on an abstract map of relations to other web spaces. This project will explore the space of Second Life, particularly in the context of gender, proxemics & embodiment, to gauge the extent to which the construction of space in Second Life is dependent on culture in real life. Rather than being a process of disembodiment and distinction, as argued by scholars such as Nakamura (2002: 39), I will assert that participants in Second Life act in ways that are consistent with "Western cultures", and that the cultural norms and spatial behaviour

associated with real life (RL) are actively manifested in Second Life (SL). This will be contrasted with the way in which Second Life as a transnational space is conducive to the synthesis of culture and identity. Our aims are perhaps best articulated by Hannerz's thoughts on transnational space:

> "These days, rather than seeking out the comfortable intimacy of village life, we debate the cultural distance between ship and shore, and the ways of traversing that distance" (Hannerz 1997: 2).

METHODOLOGY

The study of Second Life presents unique methodological issues rarely found in other areas of anthropological enquiry. A key concern is one of (self)representation. In Second Life, communication is with specifically and intentionally constructed identities, and the link between a Second Life avatar and a real life person is never made explicit, and is, I argue, irrelevant. Succinctly, as one informant explained: "...not all girly avatars are RL girlys [sic]". This presents a crucial methodological problem when attempting to gauge to what extent real (Western) life is manifested in Second Life. This problem was overcome by only linking Second Life and real life in two circumstances; firstly, where the cultural ideal, and therefore the link, is overt and explicit, such as gender or racial representation, and secondly, where the link between Second Life and real life was established in conversations concretely detailing this link (such as the group discussion "Are SL churches similar to RL churches?"). The first approach is supported by the work of Nakamura, who notes that "the specific ways in which internet users choose to represent themselves online... reveal[s] a great deal about the cultural and ideological investments and thus assumptions about both the other and themselves" (2002: 60). This approach was adopted in light of the scope of the research project – a four-week undergraduate project, rather than a two-year doctoral fieldwork –, and by maintaining such a distinct methodological approach in the establishment of links between Second Life and real life, assuming that such a link existed before the link was logically established was avoided.

A secondary issue with the study of Second Life is its size. It cannot be emphasised enough the extent to which Second Life literally represents a "parallel world" (Jones 2008: 22), and naturally a full consideration of the world as a whole is far beyond our means! Therefore, this research focused on a specific area of Second Life, widely accredited by residents to give the best example of "what SL is all about" – *The Shelter*.

As per standard anthropological research, I resolved to commit to participant observation in The Shelter and its surroundings, conducting interviews in the manner of informal instant messaging, or local area chat. It was of impetus that whilst such virtual research was dealing with a rather new domain of

anthropological interest, it was crucial to remain faithful to established methodology, just as if for example it was an obscure alien tribe under scrutiny. This was of maximum importance as ultimately, it is only by using the methods that we know best that any data can be meaningfully analysed later on. Furthermore, this felt harmonious with Second Life's status as a social application, and also allowed focus on a particular space without undertaking too onerous a task in too short a time period. All of the empirical research has been virtual, and with the exception of the methods detailed above to establish links between Second Life and real life, the world of Second Life was taken as it currently was at the time (October/November 2008), and the accuracy of residents' real life identities was not called into question. This again takes a similar methodological approach to Nakamura, who notes, "I did not try to ascertain the 'real' [racial] identity of the other players on the site. In any case, the veracity of this information would always be in doubt, and it hardly seemed to matter, in a way" (2002: 53-54). This approach is similarly adopted by Boellstorff (2008) and would appear perhaps to be the only one possible in a virtual world where anonymity is a key principle. In this report, all names have been removed, to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.

LIMITATIONS

Just as Larson writes about research methods when studying real life cultures, virtual ethnographers are inevitably limited by their unfamiliarity with the behaviours of those in the society they are studying (1982: 139). Some of the initial interviews conducted were restricted by a lack of knowledge about acceptable topics of conversation in Second Life; for example, avatars were often reluctant to communicate openly if too many questions were raised about real life too soon after meeting. Furthermore, just as the presence of an ethnographer can easily and irrefutably influence a situation, there were cases where the initiation of a topic of conversation clearly influenced the social exchange. However, by creating an avatar, becoming fully and legitimately involved in Second Life and keeping to informal interviews, such an impact was kept to a minimum, in order to maintain as authentic an experience in Second Life as possible, without research politics interfering. To this end, I did not actively seek to tell others upon first contact of my research incentives, but all of the relevant information was publicly displayed on the avatars' profiles, should other users wish to read it. In total, the research team consisted of 5 avatars (controlled by 3 users), who over the course of the four-week fieldwork period covered all races and genders offered by the Second Life program. The research avatars operated in Second Life at all different times throughout the day, in order to randomise the informant spoken to, and one of them even remained unclothed for the duration, in an attempt to identify unspoken taboos which may convey Second Life/real life relations.

SPACE & THE TRANSNATIONAL

An important question in the context of the space of Second Life is what kind of space Second Life actually *is*. As a parallel world, Second Life could be argued to represent any of the numerous categories of space outlined by Low & Lawrence-Zuniga (2003), but that is beyond the scope of this project. Firstly, to tackle the concept of Second Life as a "transnational" space: in Boellstorff's study of Second Life, the epithet "resident" is employed to denote those who use the program. This terminology, however, is neither unproblematic, nor neutral, and therefore merits examination. Boellstorff implies that as Second Life is, as Jones notes, a user-created "parallel world" (2008: 22), "residents" do not simply *use* Second Life, *participate in* Second Life, or *play* Second Life; users *live* Second Life. It is thus, at least for some, a home, and as we will argue later, it is not a realm that is entirely distinct from the real, with the cultural practice of real life users manifesting in SL residents.

> "Quite contrary to the belief that cyberspace offers a way to escape gender, race, and class as conditions of social interaction… recent critics suggest that online discourse is woven of stereotypical cultural narratives that reinstall precisely those conditions" (Punday 2000: 192).

A concise example of this arose in a conversation regarding how to (acceptably) behave in Second Life. The notion of manners arose, and a resident was asked "… so are manners important in Second Life?" Her reply was: "OMG [sic] the most important!" Manners, of course, are culturally relative (Winkelmann 1999: 4), and do represent a clear a link between Second Life and the real world, as it is a users understanding of manners that infests a residents expectations. This maintenance of home ties while living abroad represents the first use of the term "transnational" (Schiller et al 1992: ix in Low & Lawrence-Zuniga 2003: 27), and it is therefore clear that, according to this definition, Second Life is a "transnational space".

Aihwa Ong takes a different approach, defining transnational spatial processes as "situated cultural practices of mobilising that produce new modes of construing identity and result in zones of graduated sovereignty based on the accelerated flows of capital, people, cultures and knowledge" (1999, in Low & Lawrence-Zuniga 2003: 26), and Second Life can be seen to fit this definition exactly. As one commentator indeed remarked, perhaps this example implored the very essence of "(n)etiquette". Indeed, by allowing people from all over the globe to communicate in real time and providing an environment in which "land [is] owned" (Boelstorff 2008: 94), Second Life rapidly accelerates the "flows of capital, people, cultures and knowledge" and is thus not only a vector of culture, but a "situated cultural practice" that generates a process of mobilisation. Second Life also produces "new ways of construing identity" in allowing the construction

of an avatar and a potentially (un)representative self. This is perhaps most apparent in the context of gender, whereupon "Second Life provided an opportunity to reflect upon and transform [a resident's] actual world gender" (Boellstorff 2008: 142). The identification of Second Life as a transnational space generates a number of issues, particularly in the context of embodiment, as I shall explore.

EMBODIMENT

The traditional boundaries of this abstract anthropological concept are, to some degree, removed when dealing with the virtual presence, which "derives from our ability to separate *embodiment as performance* from *embodiment as (proprioceptive) sensation*" (Egoyan 2007). As Second Life is ultimately a creative venture, (most) restrictions upon gender expression that we may have in the physical world, in essence, disappear. Embodiment can also be examined in the way in which we interact with space, and thus it is logical to engage in a discourse of "virtual embodiment".

But of course, all of this analysis presumes to some degree that the virtual world *is* an embodied space. Nakamura disputes this by stating that "cyberspace is a disembodied place; the need to create a very clear, recognisable personality is thus a practical one" (2002: 39). If here, "embodiment" means a physical presence, and one accepts the assumption that the avatar is abstract and therein cannot be a physical presence, then perhaps Nakamura's view is arguable. Through interaction with Second Life residents however, I am inclined to take a more holistic approach to the term. As suggested earlier, I crucially understand embodiment to include the decisive mental processes and interactive emotive conduct of an individual – that is to say, "cognition". The avatars in Second Life are not autonomous characters, but are *virtual representations* (the veracity of which, as argued by Boelstorff (2008) and Nakamura (2002) is irrelevant), engaging with a virtual environment. If one accepts that avatars are representations (just as it may be argued, the human body is a representation), then one must similarly accept that avatars are embodied to varying extents by the characteristics of that which they represent.

This view can be maintained in light of the strong emotional investment that is visible in Second Life. Many residents relayed that physical pain experienced by the avatar is in many ways coextensive with both emotional and physical pain experienced by the human user. One resident, for example, told that they had been sexually abused, which seems bizarre when one considers that a resident has the ability to teleport away at any time, and after all, the avatar itself is composed merely of pixels. The user further noted that this sexual abuse caused deep emotional angst, which manifested itself physically as stress related illnesses. Here, it seems that the incident reported is reminiscent of the real life actuality, just without the physicalities. This observation clearly raises a number of questions which are beyond the remit of this project; however, it is clear that models of

transnational culture postulated by scholars such as Baudrillard fail to explain behaviour evident in our fieldwork. Baudrillard claims that there is a "generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal" (in Poster (ed.) 1988: 166) in transnational spaces. This statement would lead one to assume that hyperreal spaces are somewhat distinct from other spaces, yet Baudrillard's Simulacrum identifies the essence and the appearance, that is the stimulation and the reality, to be indistinguishable – a view which virtual pain being (in certain circumstances) coextensive with physical pain seems to support. Here, I take an understanding that the hyperreal directly concerns the realm of representation, yet it is precisely the zone where distinction between the real and the represented is suspended – and in terms of pain coextensivity, it is exactly the frame of hyperreality that offers itself up. Jones, similarly, asserts a view that would explain this coextensivity, arguing that "the boundary between the actual and virtual is not solid" (2008: 19), and this is something that this research into Second Life appears to support. Furthermore, though, it must be noted that when juxtaposed against physical pain, *virtual* pain may appear to be asocial, which simply cannot be the case, as fundamentally, pain and therein the body more generally must always necessarily be experienced socially if it is to be meaningful. On the other hand, I must also acknowledge that an accurate analysis of such a boundary calls for a re-thinking of the concept of embodiment which is far beyond the limits of this project. It does however, merit further study, and if such a discourse were to be entered into, I feel that it would offer insight to how much of embodiment is actually to do with performative functions of the entire social being, rather than just of the physical body.

A further critique of embodiment as per Second Life regards the methodology of this very research: as we sought information through interviews within the very program, that itself limits the research to what informants *say* about their bodily experiences – which is already another register. Perhaps a more acute focus could be upon the materiality of one's existence in the virtual realm, as of course this is a group of users *sitting at computers*, articulating bodily and emotive experience through their fingertips, through a trained and articulate reading of (arguably unconscious) codes – though this is grounds for a much greater research proposal.

PROXEMICS

The extent of Second Life as another world means that all traditional ideas of locality must be ignored, as the abstract virtual fundamentally has no physical anchor. In much ethnographic work, such as Larson's on the people of Kilbroney in Northern Ireland, the local expectations of decency are examined in relation to acceptable proxemics (1982: 132). In the case of Second Life however, new and different concepts of decency are formed as original definitions of local are no longer applicable. People from all around the world communicate on Second Life, meaning that there is a simultaneous meeting of different cultural values – the very

essence of the transnational. For example, a group conversation was entered into where the participants (or at least, the residents!) were from Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Serbia and the UK. In order to proceed with the intended communication, a compromise was reached and English was adopted as the common language to enable interaction. Although for this exemplar conversation, an agreed mutual language was spoken, the people behind the avatars would not share the same real life experiences, and thus the same real life cultural norms. Instead, social norms of the new, communal space must be created in light of users present, which are then adopted by all. This was observed in multiple instances with, for example, it clearly being socially acceptable to approach strangers and strike up conversation – an act which often is not socially supported in real life. Another notable rule was the "RL taboo"; indeed, when the topic of real life was raised without having a strong prior relationship with another Second Life resident, our avatars were usually ignored and often treated with scorn. This is a key illustration of how in Second Life, just as in real life, taboos and expectations go unspoken, and can only be understood through behavioural observation.

Returning once again to localities, Hall's theory of proxemics (1963) is almost extraneous when considering Second Life. It is important to take into account however, as the rules of proxemics in Second Life (if indeed it is accepted that there are such rules) contrast sharply to those in real life, it reinforces that Second Life as a transnational space does indeed generate "new modes of construing identity [resulting] in zones of graduated sovereignty based on the accelerated flows of capital, people, cultures and knowledge" (Ong 1999 in Low & Lawrence-Zuniga 2003: 26). Hall acknowledges that the distances between people in different social settings will vary in different cultures (Rehm et al, 2005: 128), but it may be argued, however, that no such distance exists at all within Second Life. It was observed that to physically sit on top of another avatar was deemed not only acceptable, but actually, a frequent occurrence. It is likely that such a use of space is acceptable due to the distance that the creation of an avatar and the computer screen places between the users. By having an avatar, a screen, and usually a distance of up to thousands of miles separating the human users, thus the air of danger or discomfort that comes with an invasion of intimate space is removed. This experience of virtual space between users is perhaps why a sense of escapism is often associated with Second Life, as with much internet social networking, and also why many who find face to face conversation challenging can thrive in the virtual world.

These findings contrast significantly with Bailenson's conclusion that social distances surrounding avatars in virtual worlds correlate with actual distances in the real world (Rehm et al, 2005: 129). A number of social norms that one may expect to be reflected from real life are in fact absent from Second Life culture as a whole. One such example is social taboos and expectations surrounding appearance to others, whereupon it is commonplace, for example, for avatars to wander around nude, with no comments to suggest that other users are offended by this.

Oftentimes, when a resident approached our unclothed research avatar, they helpfully offered advice on how to attain clothing, but never was this done forcefully, and never was any pejorative comment made to change the avatar's appearance. Also worth noting was that the nude avatar received no significant further attention from other users; to contrast, if a nude young female was to traverse the streets of Edinburgh, taboo aside, it is fair to assume that she would receive a significant increase of male attention!

When considering Hall's arguments regarding proxemics in another way, however, it may be arguable that the structure of spatial distances does operate; but in terms of the emotional rather than the physical. To illustrate, whilst avatars can pile upon each other in the "virtual physical" sense, only those within a certain radius (of 30 virtual metres) can communicate. Furthermore, only those within eyesight can be engaged in (private) instant messaging, which brings a realm of exclusivity to the proxemical structure, particularly in reference to interactive communication.

GENDER

As Second Life has indeed been consciously dreamt up by programmers, created by users, and maintained by residents, it is a unique object of anthropological study in that it is entirely cognitive. Everything within the space has been consciously put there, be it to reflect real life, or to provide escapism from it (such as the inclusion of avatar flight and teleportation). Therein, avatar construction tends to conform to (Western) cultural standards of what is considered attractive or normative. One commentator acutely observed, "…only two genders? How unimaginative!" Jones reiterates this argument by saying that since the majority of users of online worlds are (generally) male, white and bourgeoisie, their particular cultural view impacts the virtual space (2008: 23). We propose that this reflects an inescapable aspect of anthropological study, in that whatever culture one may be studying, it can only ever be fully understood or made sense of through the knowledge embedded in one's own cultural framework.

In many ways, the avatar is a user's opportunity to reflect an ideal, even imaginary, representation of themselves – or indeed, of others – to an audience who have also undergone the very same new identity creation process. In Second Life, gender boundaries are to some extent redundant, as they are completely cognitive constructs; many residents have commented that their avatar feels more like "them" than their physical body ever has done. This mental and physical correlation of embodiments can be perfected much more easily virtually than in real life, because for example, it is free, painless, and doesn't conflict with any socially constructed behavioural taboos which things such as gender reassignment may inflict. In support of this, Jones asserts that "the avatar becomes an opportunity to express deeper personal identities that require radical reconfiguration of bodily space" (2008: 24). This echoes the findings of my own

research, and how I view the use and function of Second Life as a space in light of this. In turn, however, this issue then leads us to the need to further reassess the concept of embodiment itself, as addressed earlier.

It was observed that while multiple appearances were offered to users creating their avatars for the first time, with everything from contrasting hair styles and eye colour, to varying fashion items, strict restrictions were placed upon gender definition. Upon creation, only the two traditional ideas of Western gender (male or female) are made available, and in a significantly "standard form". To highlight this, one resident remarked, "Not all girls are RL girlys (sic)" – and the importance of this remark lies twofold. Firstly, it reveals that the dual gender split is precisely that – it only contains two initial genders, not even allowing for variation within, let alone outwith. This line of thought ties in with the very topical discourse on femininity and masculinity appearing in the plural, as in the appointment of the very first Professor of Masculin*ities* (Øystein Gullvåg Holter, University of Oslo). The second significance, that said, is that ultimately there is no accurate way to know whether the genders of real life and Second Life do actually correlate. Boellstorff asserts that a "male/female binarism continue[s] to predominate in graphical virtual worlds" (2008: 140), and this is in agreement with our observations.

Boellstorff also writes that in virtual worlds, the fact that a person's true gender may never be known actually provides that user a chance to "reflect upon and transform their actual world gender" (2008: 142). This claim is supported by findings from informal interviews, with statements such as "you nevr [sic] know if a girls (sic) a girl, or a boys (sic) a boy". Clearly, in some cases real life males adopt female characteristics, and vice versa, on Second Life. However, reasons for this choice to adopt a contrasting gender can be contested. Stone argues that male to female cross dressers "enjoy the attractive and pleasurable qualities of being othered without having to experience the oppression and disempowerment that are part of its contribution as well" (in Star [ed.] 1995: 253). The fact that most of the avatars observed had stereotypical gender identities, however, can be argued to disagree somewhat with this statement. Further to this, though, it must be acknowledged that any further meaningful foray into this arena should be an inter-disciplinary one, inclusive of psychology, sociology, and other disciplines besides anthropology.

Most of the male avatars encountered fitted a Western masculine stereotype with broad shoulders, muscles and short hair. Equally, most female avatars had distinctly Western female qualities, often dressing in provocative clothing. Thus, gender representations on Second Life cannot be interpreted as fully reflective of real life, in which gender stereotypes, although still present, have arguably dissipated to a great extent – often through the rise of feminism and metro-sexuality. Therefore, even if a Second Life cross-dresser does so with the intention of experiencing what it is to be a member of the opposite sex, it is unlikely that they will ever obtain an accurate experience. Instead, they exist in and contribute to a world where the feminine body is objectified to a similar extent as before feminism took hold in the West, and one wherein any gender-related experience

users may have are actually a result of a conglomerate, creative environment. Hegland and Nelson address this issue of the adoption of stereotypical gender identities in their discussions on real life cross dressers, identifying how male cross dressers, "don all the trappings of femininity, and appear to embrace bodily what many women have been struggling against for decades – the objectification of the female body" (2002: 156) – an observation which can be applied somewhat to Second Life, but only subjectively.

Such observations on how gender is constructed and interpreted in Second Life demonstrate that although avatars do indeed "conform to cultural standards of what is considered attractive or normative" (Jones 2008: 23), they exist in an entirely different cultural context to that of contemporary Western society. Boellstorff reinforces this point by stating that "gender in online worlds is also constructed through a range of social practices" (2008: 143), indicating that cultural conventions about gender in Second Life (as indeed any other social concept) are formed through a creative and transnational process. Undoubtedly, though, the social practices within Second Life cannot escape the influence of social practices in real life – as after all, the residents cannot escape the users – and so to return to Punday's critique, activities in virtual worlds do not in fact provide, "a way to escape gender, race, and class as conditions of social interaction," but actually reinforce the conditions through, "stereotypical cultural narratives" (Punday 2000: 192).

CONCLUSION

Naturally, an ethnography of the (not just) "virtual" will always be a tough one, and there will always be aspects that must be overlooked in favour of others, and considerations that lie beyond the remit of such a task, but I have aimed to identify some of the more interesting questions raised in an attempt to drawn attention to this domain. Second Life and similar virtual social platforms are too often taken as the strange or the bizarre, and a penchant for the "disenfranchised" of society. Indeed, this is a view taken by a minority of its residents, it occasionally being articulated that "a lot of people on here seem to do it because they can't have real face to face relationships". As a space, though, it is clear that Second Life can provide a portal through which those uncomfortable with physical relationships can engage with people that they would otherwise be unable to, and this is supported by consideration of Hall's proxemics. This research however, has shown that this would be an extremely simplistic understanding. Second Life is not merely an escapist space, but is truly a "parallel world" (Jones 2008: 4), where "[i]nternet users represent themselves within it solely through the medium of keystrokes and mouseclicks, and through this medium they can describe themselves and their physical bodies *any way they like*" (Nakamura 2002: 35, italics mine). Nakamura would argue that this is a process of disembodiment, but contrarily I have found that the cultures of real life are actively manifested in Second Life, a process that is particularly apparent in the context of gender and the proliferation of stereotypes,

whereupon, "virtual bodies in Second Life [represent] a tendency of the technology to reflect the culture in which it exists" (Jones 2008: 26). An intrinsic element of Second Life is therefore representation, and our research shows strong evidence that real life and Second Life are not entirely distinct, but interweaved and co-dependent. Indeed, Second Life is a transnational space that produces "new modes of construing identity" (Ong, in Low & Lawrence-Zuniga 2003: 26), and it can be argued that space in Second Life (fundamentally, a "foreign" space) is embodied by the home cultures of residents, thus representing the first use of the term "transnational" (Schiller et al 1992: ix, in Low & Lawrence-Zuniga 2003: 27). This then, interestingly, simultaneously appears to both agree *and* contrast with the notion of "hyper-real" transnational space (as postulated by scholars such as Baudrillard – in Poster [ed.] 1988: 166) in that it is at once separate from, but equated to, whilst also untouchably superior from, the real. Conclusively, this research supports the claim of Second Life as an embodied, engendered transnational space, which fundamentally links to greater theoretical issues such as "what is the body?" and "what is physical experience?" in the context of virtual space, that of their own accord do indeed merit further study.

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HOME AS THE PLACE IN THE HEART: EMOTIONAL INVESTMENTS OF HOUSING IN SLOVENIA

MOJCA RAMŠAK

ABSTRACT

Dwelling is a house or other building, a place of living, but this place is also much more than a point in space. Emotional effects of buying the first real estate, changing the dwelling and accommodating to new environment are to a certain extent measurable responses to new life circumstances. Emotional strategies of changing the residence are important, because they are usually connected with spending the biggest amount of money and the biggest debt in one's life and are interlaced with culturally dependant notion of home. Buying the apartment or house and moving from one dwelling to another are frustrations that have influence on the lives of next of kin or friends one live with, and at the same time they can represent the feeling of ultimate fulfilling. The research is based partly on auto ethnographic method; stories of people I was listening to when I was buying the apartment in 2003, my own story, and stories which were collected later in 2008 before the financial shocks of autumn of the same year, when prices in the housing market fell also in Slovenia. Richly nuanced narratives of buying the dwelling are from Slovene mid-range people who were around thirty years old when they were buying their first dwelling, they all had university education, they were employed permanently or for part time, they had average or little above average incomes by Slovene standards, and to all of them buying the apartment or house in the city was a huge financial burden and a great personal engagement. Long-felt desires and needs for having their own home together with raising the quality of live are the main stress on one side, and on the other, several forms of mutual help and emotional strategies that were accompanying purchase, removing, furnishing, accustoming to environment and neighbors.

Keywords: Housing, Habitat, Slovenia, Household, Ownership, Couple.

HOUSING IN SLOVENIA: DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM

Slovenia with its two millions of inhabitants has retained good results as regards the one of the main social development goal, that is, the quality of life and the welfare of Slovenia's inhabitants, although weaknesses in some areas remain a continuing policy challenge. The living conditions are improving gradually, and the

risk of poverty remains among the lowest in the EU. The dwellings stock is rising, as are the achieved dwelling standards and access to services of general interest. The weaknesses that remain ongoing policy challenges include the low share of rented dwellings and insufficient access to housing for young and single people (Implementation 2007: 4); Slovenia chronically lacks the apartments, especially those non-profit apartments for young or socially weak families. In the capital, Ljubljana in the central Slovenia, in Maribor, the second biggest Slovene city on the East of the country, and on the Coast on the West, there is a big demand for smaller and cheaper apartments. At the same time there are many areas intended for construction, but mostly for profit apartments. Because of this obvious deficit and bad use of already existing capacities (like in the older bigger houses, the lofts) the prices are high, and in some cases even higher per square meter than in neighboring countries like Austria and Italy.

2002 Slovene census reports that Slovenia has 685,023 households and 780,823 apartments and other dwellings. If we count out the places, which are not dwellings by the definition, but were used as such in the time of the count, we get the number 92,749, what means that in Slovenia there are much more dwellings than households (Ličen Pajenk 2003; Černelč–Vindiš Furman 2008). The logical question is: why do so many people suffer from the lack of appropriate housing if there are enough dwellings? The answer to this question is multilayered.

A large number of the dwellings are on the countryside and in remote settlements, especially if the whole families moved to more urban areas in the past. Some of them are buildings which have inappropriate arrangement of rooms. Many people live in houses which are too big for their actual needs or were nonfunctional and not ecologically built, mostly in the 1970' and 1980' when the credits were quite easy to obtain and when there was a trend to show the social status through real estate. There are many couples or spouses living alone in a house built for two or more families, because their children did not stay with them after they have created the new family. Older people are emotionally attached to their houses, especially if they have built them with their own hands, and though they as pensioners sometimes hardly manage to cover the current expenses. Many Slovenes live in individual houses on the countryside near the cities and they daily migrate to work. And at last, there are still quite a big number of houses, apartments or pieces of lands in denationalization procedure, because they were confiscated by the state from "state enemies" after the World War II and they have not yet been returned, especially if their owners emigrated and the descendants were hard to find.

The lack of non-profit apartments is the most distinctive in bigger cities with universities and in Coastal region. The housing funds, which promote housing construction, renovation and maintenance of apartments and residential houses are competent for giving loans with a favorable rate for the acquisition of non-profit rental housing and for the acquisition of proprietary apartments and residential

houses, are more involved in profit than non-profit housing. The government programs also help young people, especially with the National Housing Savings Scheme[1] and Housing Grant for Young First-Time Homebuyer Families, but this help takes at least five years to be realized; immediate help does not exist. In 2007 the government also abolished tax relief for first-time homebuyers. There are not enough positive measures, which would increase the offer of non-profit rental housing and improve the housing supply.

Because of these gaps in national housing programs first-time buyers face with heavy financial and emotional problems before they are able to buy or rent a place, which would make them feel like "at home". More and more people extend their youth living with their parents or other relatives until their forties. Especially those young people who have found the job in their birth place or in the residential place of their parents, those young who are at the beginning of the career, those who have part-time jobs, those who have not yet saved enough money to buy an apartment, those who cannot expect that parents will help them financially, because they also have low incomes or from other reasons; all those are forced to cohabitate in the same place either with parents or relatives. If they work too far from their parents or relatives, they rent a room or smaller apartment in the cities for high prices, from 300 Euros and more per month, and without other costs.

The situation in Slovenia is such that renters and subtenants in the Central Slovenia and in university cities are caught in a vicious circle from which they hardly withdraw. Rental apartments have high prices, but in many cases the quality of living conditions does not meet the price. "Holes" such as basement flats, rooms in adapted garages or sometimes even ex-stables, old weary apartments in big Slovene cities can also be expensive and they can exceed half of the salary of subtenants. Therefore they cannot save enough to buy their own apartment. Though there have been some attempts to regulate this problem, many people still live illegally in such apartments and they are regulated only by the rules of supply and demand on the black market. At the same time the tenants are threatened by the owners with sudden notices to quit saying: "The other people already pass the doorknob", meaning the other people are willing to take this apartment instead of you if you do not agree with my terms. Many subtenants without a capital for buying the apartment establish that it is better to live a decade or even more in bad

[1] The Act on the National Housing Savings Scheme, adopted in 2000, set out terms and conditions of annual tenders for savings for residential property, selection criteria for banks authorized to collect deposits and grant housing loans, terms and conditions of savings, reporting and oversight of the implementation of the scheme, as well as other details in connection with the implementation of the scheme. The savings contract under the savings scheme may be concluded for the period of five or ten years, depositors may pay monthly or annual deposits. A premium is credited to the balance on the savings account at the end of each year from the budget by the Housing Fund of the Republic of Slovenia. Upon maturity, the depositor is eligible for a long-term housing loan with the repayment period twice the savings one. The amount of the loan is at least a double amount of the saved amount (Bank of Slovenia: Annual Report 2000: 41).

living conditions and suffer partial loss of dignity than move to a better place, because this is the only way to save at least some money for their own home. Their surviving strategies and manifold economizing of the daily expenses go hand in hand with their strong desire for their own dwelling. They hope that if they have to tighten their belts and swallow all kinds of humiliations and offences from their apartment owners, one day they will be able to save enough to buy their own dwelling. They became reconciled with the double price they pay, emotional and in money, and they think it goes together with a better life in the city where they work and where they want to stay.

Because of the described conditions the desires and needs for buying a home are investigated jointly with different forms of mutual help and emotional strategies that accompany the buying, moving, furnishing and adopting the apartments, and together with its surroundings and neighbors. The article does not tend to deal with those people who can easily buy the first real estate and to whom buying does not mean any special financial and emotional stress. Rich social strata, who can easily buy a real estate in the center of the capital, Ljubljana, on the Coast or in other elite location for 350,000, 500,000 or even more than 1,000,000 Euros, have different view of the concept of home than middle and lower class to whom even buying bed-sitting-room or one-room apartment for 150,000 Euros means a huge problem and stress.

Emotional strategies of changing the residence are important, because they are usually connected with spending the biggest amount of money and the biggest debt in one's life, the best or the worst investment in one's life. Buying the apartment or house and moving from one dwelling to another are frustrations that have influence on the lives of next of kin or friends one live with, and at the same time they can represent the feeling of ultimate fulfilling. People who sell and buy real estate are often caught in the feelings that rarely have good influence on the negotiations what further leads to poor decisions.

The average Slovene price of the apartment in 2007 was 1,700 Euros per square meter, the highest was in winter ski resort Kranjska gora and in Bled, the most popular tourist destination in the Alps (3,000 Euros per square meter), seaside resorts Ankaran, Izola, Piran, Portorož, Koper (2,900 Euros or in elite locations even 6,000 Euros per square meter), in the capital Ljubljana (2,660 Euros), in the second biggest city Maribor (1,300 Euros), and the lowest was in eastern part of the country near Hungarian border in Murska Sobota (960 Euros). The most expensive apartments were approximately 40 square meters big, and they were 20% more expensive from the apartments of 70 square meters.

The differences in price per square meter for similar dwelling and same infrastructure can be more than 500 Euros higher in Slovenia if we compare it with Italy and Austria. Such case is the city of Nova Gorica in western Slovenia on Italian border. It is a new city, built in 1948, when the Paris Peace Treaty established a new border between Yugoslavia and Italy, leaving nearby Gorizia

outside the borders of Yugoslavia. On Italian side of the city the prices are more than 20% lower than in Slovenia, because of lower communal costs and lower tax burdens for the first-time buyers. That is why after 2004, when Slovenia joined the European Union, young Slovenes began to buy apartments on Italian side of the city and getting subventions for it offered by Italian region Friuli–Venezia Giulia, though they still work in Slovenia (Kužet 2008: 12, 13).

THEORETICAL GROUNDS AND METHODOLOGY

Statistical data on housing are insufficient for understanding the emotions connected to it. Whenever I tried to get any information on housing emotions, mentality of buyers and sellers or the importance of having a home, I have got numbers. Not stories, but numbers. Or partial narrations in local newspapers from time to time which were drowned in national statistics. That is why I decided to ask people I know who had went through similar first-time buying experience to tell me how it looked like when they were buying the apartment and what was their notion of home.

The research on emotional investments of housing is partially based on auto ethnographic method. I deliberately shared my own experience from 2003 with other first-time buyers in similar life situations. I tested if there is a feedback to my own experience if I structure it, and to what extent, how deep will people be able and willing to tell me their stories. I did not want to be too intrusive and I avoided questions about concrete payments for the dwellings, but I got them anyway. Besides it I was surprised about the comparisons they made. Narrations, where concrete amounts of money or descriptions of the troubles of getting credits appeared, were accompanied with metaphorical comparisons from other spheres of life. People who are not rich (and are not working in economics) often translated financial categories into a language most people understand. I was aware that the use of auto ethnographic method can be seen as one-sided for more positivistic oriented ethnographers. Nevertheless I believe that the involvement of my own experience in the research was an advantage and not the weakness. Because I shared the details from my own life, the expectations, the patience, the worries, the distresses, the ravishment, the catharses, the ambitions connected with the apartment I bought, I got nine stories, three from men and six from women. All the descriptions were written upon the frame or the questionnaire I have prepared. I deliberately gave two months to people to write their structured memories and in February 2008 I got them all by e-mail. The response was 50% of the total invited people. My own story was part of the sample too (Anderson 2006) and in some cases it served as a tool to remember and as a guide for respondents who tended to be rather short in their descriptions.

The fragment bellow describes how I was warmed by the first sight of my home after the renovation. I used this fragment to enhance the memory and

preparedness of people to write about non-material aspects, which are usually neglected, hidden and considered as not worthy of mention. The fragment also holds symbolic demarcation between outside world, which stops at the doorway and inside private space where one can do whatever he or she pleases.

> "I took off my shoes on the threshold before I entered in the renovated apartment for the first time. In the anteroom I touched the floor carefully to be sure that lack had already dried and then I entered on tiptoes. The parquet shined as a mirror and everywhere was a smell of lack, but it wasn't unpleasant. Then I lay on the kitchen's floor and shouted as much as I could: It's mine! It's mine! My shouting echoed in an empty apartment together with the consciousness that I'm finally lying on the floor of my apartment, for which I decided to be the most important place in my further life."

I was listening to other people's stories and have been inspired by them many times on different occasions before I decided to collect them. Stories on saving, buying, moving, furnishing, looking for workers etc. were often didactic in their nature, because people wanted to give hints or prepare others who were at the beginning of the first-time buying process. They often gave advices of what is good to do, smart to check, what should be avoided, where is the best place to fix this or that, what to do if something goes wrong etc. I also heard alternative stories which were quite unusual for Slovene conditions.

The way how the stories from my acquaintances in their thirties who came to live in big cities were told and where the accents in the stories were made have been defined by the time that had passed from the buying and people's satisfaction with the dwelling they bought. If the purchase was quite distant from the moment of narrating, that is three or more years, the stories were shorter or more anecdotic. If the experience was nearer in time, the descriptions were more exhaustive and more descriptions of emotions were involved. If people were happy with their purchase and their living conditions, their stories were less angry and with higher indulgence about all collaborating parties.

These rough characteristics made me want to hear more structured and comparable stories to see how people were experiencing these important parts of their lives and what kind of emotional investments in housing that attracted my attention were actually prevailing. At the begging of 2008 I have prepared a questionnaire which served as a guide for thinking and remembering the key events, connected to living conditions in rented places, personal decisions for buying the apartment or house, financial cooperation of the family or friends and other forms of mutual help, adapting to new environment and dwelling, the concept of home, quality of life, mutual relationships, real and needs.

I sent the questionnaire to several people which I knew and who were recently in the agony of first-time home buyers. By recently I meant the 21st Century or the last half of a decade of the 20th Century. The importance of this time

frame came from my observations; I wanted memories which were not so much reshaped in time and also comparable in terms of housing policy or other social and cultural factors. I also asked people to pass the questionnaire to somebody else who would fit this pattern. I collected memories and/or stories personally and only by e-mail invitations. I avoided solicitation of groups of people. I have conducted two similar researches in the past (on honor and on breast cancer) in which I have used snow-ball techniques and in which I have combined e-mail invitations with other more traditional sources (Ramšak 2006; Ramšak 2007). In both cases this technique turned out as effective. My own experiences in such researches confirms that people who want to express themselves and reflect on something important from their lives, like this technique, because it gives them enough time to think, enough space to add something personal if they want to and it minimalizes the possibility of being rushed. Of course it cannot involve certain populations and it is limited only to people who have access to internet and who spend enough time behind the screen. Excluding other groups is the weak part of e-mail solicitation.

Nine respondents who were willing to participate (three men, six women) had university education in humanities or social sciences, they worked part- or full time, they were married, they cohabitated with their partners, they were single or widowed. They were born in 1960' or 1970'. Some also communicated with me on this topic later, but more informally, sending me photos of their new dwelling, we discussed the prices of furniture, unreliable workers, clever architectural decisions, nice home decorations, terrible neighbors, annoying pets. One man sent me plenty of childhood memories of the place where he had bought the apartment. I promised total anonymity to the respondents, but I asked them for basic information for the research purpose.

GOOD-BYE, RENTED LIFE

Accidental and collected stories on first-time home buying and making the home had emotional range that I can roughly divide into three stages: (1) before buying, (2) buying itself and (3) after buying. The range extended from negative emotional states such as apathy and anger because of momentary living or material conditions; ecologically colored dreams about quality of dwelling which would represent independence and freedom; balancing between possibility and wishes; hyperactive period of buying, moving, adapting, negotiating with workers; the first party as rite of passage signifying a transition from one quality of living to another; euphoria and relief, because buying, moving and furnishing were finished; reassuring feeling, because the quality of life in new home improved and because moving, negotiating with workers and furnishing were not the main mental preoccupations anymore; worries about deprivation on different levels, which came as a result of saving, credit, mortgage and saddling oneself with debts for 20 or 30 years or worries to become socially isolated because of many-sided saving.

Here are some examples of what people told me. I sorted the fragments in the above mentioned sequences.

When people are for long time deprived for place in which they would feel good, when they have to move from one place to another frequently, negative emotional states such as apathy, lack of feeling, impassiveness and anger start to prevail. Their momentary housing situation is often explained as unfavorable miserable destiny or as self-pitying complaint:

> "How did I earn all these ten times overpaid holes for which their proprietors believe that are made from gold?! If I only remember the first student basement room, which I have shared with a classmate! Two old beds, little table, two chairs, sideboard from 1950', radiator and hardly any space. In front of the room was a lumber room with old compotes and musty preserved vegetables, the room with distinct nasty smell and spider's webs. Our proprietor washed her cur in bath-tub that was shared by three girls in so called bathroom and kitchen in one place, she switched off the heating every morning after we have gone to the faculty and her young granddaughters observed us through the window, big as office paper as we were monkeys in the zoo. I needed some time to comprehend that they couldn't stop doing it because such living was beyond and far away from their own. Or the last one-room apartment for which a had to pay a fortune and which was cold, pretty damp, despite heating, and smelly, where I was not supposed to move a thing and where I had to listen litanies and poor me of the owner day by day by the telephone or even tolerated her when she came for a day or two to check how I'm living" (She, 1969).

Often expressed topics were ecologically colored dreams about quality of new dwelling which would represent independence and freedom. In such cases balancing between possibilities and wishes is in the forefront:

> "The price was important factor, because you can choose only inside a certain price range. We were thinking to move outside of the city, but we were too much connected with urban life, not only by work; we went out and hung out often and besides that I didn't have a driving license. We have postponed the possibility of living on the countryside, an hour from the city, which attracted us so much for the time when we would have children. It's a divine feeling to step out the house directly on the grass. Of course we wanted a garden, but that would be utopian regarding our financial capabilities. And so we started to look for the apartments in the city, near the center. For the money we had we were lucky to find an apartment in an old building with big high-ceiling rooms. Despite there were only two rooms and that the apartment was a bit smaller from the one we were living in, it had some advantages. You could get the feeling of spaciousness; there was

enough space for everything, the kitchen, living room, two working corners, bed, wardrobes. It was possible to have a garden, there was a garage and it would be possible to adapt the attic. We also liked the old picturesque building and high trees around it. It was almost in the center and you could go everywhere by foot or on the bicycle. We were convinced by the pleasantness of the rooms, common garden and the view with trees" (She, 1973).

When the housing adventure becomes a reality, it gives a fresh impetus to hyperactive period of buying, moving, adapting and negotiating with workers:

"The renovation lasted five days. We have laid new linoleum, mended the holes, cleaned, painted and sprayed. We did everything by ourselves with the exception of floor. In a few months we have changed the wainscot in the room and later in a few years we changed the kitchen, but we bought the cheapest one, like people put in weekend houses. Today it would cost 400 Euros, but it was at least cleaner than before. Boyfriend's colleagues helped with renovation. I remember that the apartment was a pigsty and it remained dirty even after I don't know how many thorough cleanings" (She, 1973).

The first party is the rite of passage signifying a transition from one quality of living to another. It marks the end of temporary state of lack of social status and announces new form of living and sometimes even conducting. The actual passage is filled with pleasant emotions:

"The moving was so great, because we have invited a bunch of friends and we moved everything in two hours. I remember handsome flowers walking on the stairs as having legs. Right after the moving we had a picnic and a party" (She, 1973).

Pleasant emotions extend and may get the qualities of euphoria and relief, because buying, moving and furnishing were finally over:

"I was so proud of myself and happy that I did it. I felt like I have wings, but not only because of the apartment, but also because of the recognition of others" (She, 1962).

There is also reassuring feeling, because the quality of life in new home improved and because moving, negotiating with workers and furnishing were not the main mental preoccupations any more:

"The new house on the suburbia is much bigger and more beautiful as previous rented apartment. There is a garden in front of it, cool shade, a lot of greenness, possibility to recreate on the garden. It wasn't hard to get used to all these qualities" (She, 1967).

Gradually an annoying buffer comes into the dialectic between old and new quality of life. Worries about deprivation on different levels creep into daily life. They come as a result of saving, credit, mortgage and saddling oneself with debts for 20 or 30 years. There are also worries of becoming socially isolated because of many-sided saving:

> "The purchase of the apartment had to happen with the money saved in previous years. It was tight and I got a fatty credit, which I have not digested yet. Giving up to things was necessary, as it is now, several years from then. You get used to it and it doesn't hurt, but I ask myself how it will be later when the child will see things around him and will demand material lavishness that he notices in the kindergarten or in the school" (He, 1968).

One of the main emotional topics is fear of almost lifelong financial debt. First time buyers without the financial support of the parents or other family members are the most afraid of harsh bank conditions and mortgages and they relate them to employment insecurity, part time or honorary work they do for living. An average amount of bank loan for the apartment in Slovenia is between 60,000 and 65,000 Euros, payment period is up to 30 years. The prices of real estate were constantly growing between 2003 and 2008, prices of the apartments exalted for 50 % and prices of houses for 40 %. The buyers pragmatically thought that this is safe investment for longer period, at least for ten years. Fear from responsible decision and financial debt was not always explicitly expressed and respondents were often not aware of it.

> "When I found the apartment I liked in a record time and for which I would dare to take a loan and renounce to everything, I started to waver over the purchase: 'What if now, when Bush started the war in Iraq, everything will go to hell, what if the World war III is near?' When I mentioned my hesitation to my study colleague who was already on his own, he understood immediately what kind of fear is holding me by the throat. He replied that I can't live under the bridge forever. As if he said: 'Grow up and deal with it'. His sharp response was essential for my final decision that the purchase is really necessary and that it will be a good move. I never really lived under the bridge, but when I think about all the rented apartments I lived in, when the owners suddenly gave me notice to quit, because they wanted to move in their children or grandchildren; or how they were terrified of my boy-friend who was not white; or how the neighbors reported to the owner about the diapers, which I was drying on the balcony when I was expecting the first child; or how I fought verbally and didn't let the owners to blackmail me for more money – when I remember all these, I did live under the bridge and in constant fear that I have to look for another roof over my head again. Such insecurity exhausts you. Even if you have a place to live, you are still

homeless. Emotionally you are homeless, because you can't attach yourself to the rented apartment. When you are young and have plenty of energy to deal with the problem and look for new strategies, you can manage it somehow, but it's not a long-term security" (She, 1969).

It is often in Slovenia that buying the apartment is alleviated with the help of the parents who either change their apartment for smaller, gave it to their children when they go to the home for old-age pensioners or help their children with the money if they can. Financial help of relatives can be crucial for low- or mid-range buyers and besides it is also a moral support. The importance of social capital is crucial even for people with quite individualistic life-styles.

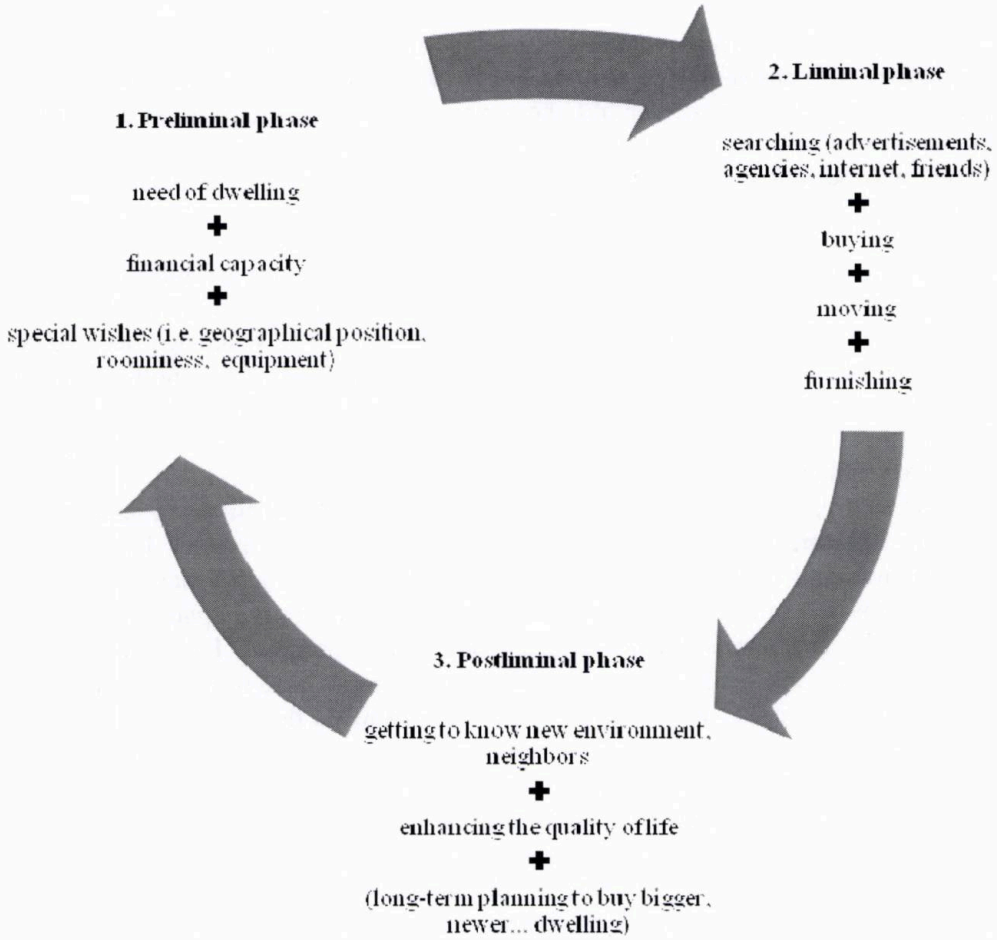
"My mother helped me. She shared the money between me and my brother when she sold the apartment of her late parents. My partner saved money in National Housing Savings Scheme for several years. When we decided to buy, he abandoned the Scheme, took the money out and got another loan at the bank. After he died I have paid the rest of the credit from my savings" (She, 1973).

"My father could contribute only 3,000 German Marks[2] and that was a kind of dowry. I saved 10,000 German Marks and I spent them for a deposit for the apartment. I got a loan of 25,000 Marks, and for the rest I asked my friends and relatives if they can give me a loan, which I have gradually reimbursed in the following years. I started to save for the apartment when I got the first employment. After I bought the apartment I also had many honorary jobs and I saved continually. I was always used to live a modest life actually, so it was not so difficult for me. Anyway I decided not to renounce to everything, I left myself enough money for the movies and sauna" (She, 1962).

"My parents or relatives are not rich, I couldn't count on any inheritance; I could count only on myself. My father, who was already in pension when I bought the apartment, lent me all his savings in the amount of one of my monthly salary. I was never thinking before how much money my parents have, but since then I was crying many times secretly. Then, when I came out

[2] Since Slovene independence in 1991 the currency in use was the Slovene Tolar. The Tolar replaced the 1990 convertible version of Yugoslav Dinar. The Tolar was the currency of Slovenia from 1991 until the introduction of the Euro in January 2007. As Slovenia is adjacent to Euro zone countries, Italy and Austria, most Slovenian citizens were already familiar with the Euro, even before it became the national currency. Slovenia issues its own Euro coins, like all other nations in the Euro zone. The reason why the respondent mentions German Marks, the currency used in Germany before Euro, is that many people calculated or had savings in German Marks before 1990 and until 1999, when the German Mark was replaced by the Euro. Since its coins and banknotes remained in circulation until 2002 and the German Marks had a reputation as one of the world's most stable currencies, people often made comparisons with German Marks.

from long lasting permitted bank minus and I wanted to return the money to my father, my mother induced him so that at last I didn't need to return anything. They donated this money to me" (She, 1969).



The diagram shows the stages before, during and after buying the apartment or house. Emotions corresponding to these stages are: (1) Before buying: indifference and anger because of the momentary living and financial conditions, vacillating between wishes, needs and capability; (2) Hyperactive period of searching for adequate housing, buying, moving, adapting, furnishing, looking for electricians, plumbers…; (3) After buying: ritual events as housewarming party, meeting the neighbors and house managers, which are followed by interlaced feelings of euphoria and worries about the credits; eventual looking for better, bigger apartment.

HELLO, HOME: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Economic transactions and the value of real estate, measured in specific currency, are connected with emotions and values. The worth of a certain space gets over the monetary worth. It is surpassed by individually emotional comprehension of this real estate, where the concrete physical space and culturally dependant notions of home are interlaced.

Why we feel the way we do about our homes is much dependant on cultural influences such as nostalgia, intimacy, privacy, domesticity, ease, commodity, delight, light, air, efficiency, style, comfort and well-being, which helped to shape the modern idea of European and American homes (Rybczynski 1986). It is true that social and cultural changes influenced styles of decoration and furnishing, the connections between different styles and furnishings, and that some of our luxuries were born out of necessity. Nevertheless home does not have to be special, stylish or expensive, it only has to be special to us emotionally.

Places that mean something are places in which somebody finds something valuable, but they are usually not necessary the objects of a monument protection. These places, these objects do not hold only monetary or historical worth. They hold the feelings of belonging, the state when somebody feels comfortable and free in such a place. The feeling of belonging is a qualitative category, which can be expressed only through different kinds of narrations and confessions. If we were able to transform the memories, stories, associations and values connected to a certain place into a concrete monetary worth, it would be immensely dependant on emotional attachment to this place. People cultivate special emotional attachment or dislike towards place they live in. If the emotional attachment is positive and it brings the feeling of comfort, we name our residence home. If the memories contain different forms of discomfort, exploitation or surviving strategies with which we tried to save or adapt ourselves, we will not be able to use the same expression for the dwelling environment or we will use it temporary.

When people finally name new dwelling as home there is always a dialectics between what they wish, what they can afford and what they can do themselves from the place. People with long-lasting experiences of dwellings, in which they did not feel like at home, keep unpleasant memories longer.

In Slovenia the notion of home means the possession of the physical structure, apartment or house, within which one lives; the place where somebody lives permanently (alone or with family); the place like country or town from which somebody comes from, was born or has lived for a long period; and the place in which somebody feels good, secure and happy. Home is the center or heart of Slovene's spatial attachment and the area of special strength or competence. The profoundness of emotional relationship towards home is dependant from length, the duration of residing, ownership, well-being and other factors. Secondary meaning of home is also homeland, for somebody who lives elsewhere. In material

sense home can be any other place where somebody lives and spends free time, like student's home or old people's home, and, metaphorically, the last home on the graveyard.

People who live in rented apartments have more difficulties to express their belonging to their temporary residences. Rented place for living is usually not the home in emotional sense of meaning. They physically live there, but they rarely feel the necessary belonging and the place rarely fits their idea of home.

The experience of inwardness and security gave rise to a sense of privacy, strongly located within the walls of the apartment. The crucial opposition between home and not-home, between private and public realms, was experienced to be situated between the inside and the outside of the apartment itself. This image marked off a space for family members only, those who belonged to the place, those who lived here and called it their home, those who had the right of determination within the walls; it was a boundary vital to separate strangers from the family members, outsiders from insiders (Håkan 2008: 112-113).

Home is a safe place of one's deepest and sincerest feelings and beliefs, place of freedom. As long as people do not have the possibility to live in place, which they easily name home, they create imaginary private place in their hearts.

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THROUGH A GLASS DARKLY: MAKING SENSE OF THE EMPIRICAL DATA OF PERFORMANCE

CHRISTINE DETTMANN

ABSTRACT

Given that musical performance is created in intersubjective construction, different styles of ethnographies can come into play. Taking two examples of my fieldwork experience, I focus on the analytical challenge posed by the transformation of empirical data into an ethnography of performance. Here, a closer look can for instance reveal slight discrepancies between the verbal accounts of the stakeholders and my own observation or experience of the performance. I resolve these ambiguities under different epistemological conditions. Yet, the similar outcomes suggest a flexible handling of ethnographic writing styles. The emphasis lies therefore on foregrounding this analytical path of transformation into an ethnography, calling it "performing ethnography".

Keywords: Performance, Ethnography, Brazilian Culture, Capoeira.

INTRODUCTION

During my study of philosophy, I often secretly wondered what it is these philosophers questioned, particularly the question of what we can really know. The available answers never seemed to be very plausible. Yet, now as an ethnomusicologist, the epistemological question of what one can really know about the world has revealed its undeniable importance. Contemporary post-colonialist approaches have essentially triggered this question (e. g. Clifford/Marcus 1986; Roth et al. 1989). There has been a greater willingness to scrutinize one's own perception and finally, the representation of the reality of "the other". Starting off with the "self-reflective anthropology" (Watson 1991:81), ethnomusicology benefited from new ways of approaching fieldwork and ethnography (e. g. Grenier/Guilbault 1990; Barz/Cooley 2008). Hence, the new challenge was and maybe still is to apply these insights to the study of musical performance (see also Wong 2008: 77).

In an ethnography which deals with performance situations, the author is faced with the impossible, yet desired "holistic perspective" (Béhague 1984: 10). As the Performance Study researcher Jnan Blau puts it, the event opens up "music's text, music's performer, and music's audience to their polysemic possibilities and inter-influential realities" (Blau 2009). First, the ethnographer will decide on the data to gather. One of the next steps consists in the transformation of these layers of experience, witnessing and recording into a coherent writing style. It is this transformative process I am particularly interested in since, often hidden, it informs so much the written interpretation of the data. Therefore, I will foreground this path of analysis, without necessarily giving advantage to one style of ethnography over another.

Taking two examples from performance situations, I will point to different levels of empirical access in the data – these verbal accounts and observations. I will highlight how these levels can be linked in a sensible way, especially in cases where they don't seem to quite match or even contradict each other. I believe that looking at these kinds of ambiguities which at first glance seem to elicit an immediate understanding can fruitfully enhance the research enterprise in musical performance studies.

FIRST EXAMPLE: BRAZILIAN PERFORMERS IN LISBON

I have been in Lisbon, the capital of the South-Western European country Portugal for most of 2003 and later, studying the local Brazilian musicians. They stem from the vastly increased number of Brazilian immigrants to Portugal, comprising nowadays one of the youngest and biggest immigrant community in the former mother country (cf. Malheiros 2007:16-17).

Brazilian music has enjoyed a high reputation in Portugal for a long time, not least due to both countries using the same mother tongue Portuguese. This provides a good opportunity for immigrant musicians using Brazilian music in the local music market. Most of them came to Portugal at the end of the 1990s. Their musical practice is mostly found in local venues such as discos, bars, restaurants, stages in music shops or shopping centres. These venues became crucial places for me to contact the musicians. Within my PhD, I integrated some subjective descriptions of particular evenings in order to make these performances more accessible to the reader. I didn`t use the recorded music as a primary material for analysis. In my opinion, this would have given me too much license in interpretation. I rather based myself on the verbal accounts from the interviewees, as it has also been proposed in ethnomusicology (e.g. Béhague 1984: 9; Stokes 2003: 230). Hence, there I haven't found an explicit enough background which would theoretically support the link between what people say and what they do. I therefore drew on the extended discourse analysis by the German sociologist

Siegfried Jäger (1993; 2001). He refers to Foucault's notion of "dispositive" which would connect the said and the unsaid just as in a web, but which was only adumbrated by Foucault (cf. Foucault 1978). Jäger refines dispositives as process-related elements of knowledge which are enclosed in a rotating circle of thought/speech, practice and the respective materializations (cf. Jäger 2001: 83-84). In order to gain access to non-verbalized knowledge or reifications, he then suggests using explanations from people or the texts they respectively produce (cf. Jäger 2001: 86-88).

In the case of the musical practice from a performance, I could therefore revert to everyday language of informal conversations as well as to the detailed interviews I had conducted. These interviews served indeed as an important source because here, implicit meanings which the stakeholders wouldn't necessarily (need to) flesh out in everyday situations became explicit (see also Charmaz 2001: 340-1). The analysis of these verbal accounts would thus show an important link to the musical practice.

At first, such an analysis looks quite simple but there may be some pitfalls. Such as when what the interviewee says doesn't seem to entirely match the observations of the performance. Here is an example: in 1995, when he was in his mid-forties, the singer-songwriter Renato Corrêa came to Lisbon where he now plays guitar in Portuguese and Brazilian restaurants. He also uses a small drum-machine for percussive accompaniment. Together with his soft voice, he is able to create a comfortable atmosphere for the diners. In the interview, Corrêa describes his choice of repertoire as follows:

> Corrêa: "Eu toco basicamente músicas do Chico Buarque de Holanda, Caetano Veloso, Djavan, Ivan Lins – como é que eu te falei naquele dia, né – a elite brasileira". Translation: Corrêa: "Basically, I play the music of Chico Buarque de Holanda, Caetano Veloso, Djavan, Ivan Lins – as I told you before, the Brazilian elite" (interview 26/09/2003).

For Corrêa, the musical "Brazilian elite" refers to artists of MPB, "Música Popular Brasileira". Since the mid-1960s, these very creative and successful singers and songwriters fused Anglo-American music with regional Brazilian styles (see also Stroud 2008: 39-44).

During a performance situation, Corrêa indeed plays cover versions penned by this "Brazilian elite". Nevertheless, the whole repertoire of an evening can show a far more heterogenic picture. It may also include music from other Brazilian genres such as "axé" and "pagode" which started to be highly visible in the 1990s. So, let me be a bit nit-picking and state: Corrêa's verbal account does not totally match the observation of the repertoire of an evening. In the course of interpreting the data, I have to wonder how to go about this now. Should I really introduce a distinction between "true" or "false", or "true" and "more-or-less-true" (see also Hammersley 2001: 109-110)?

Possible ambiguities between what people say and what they eventually do were also observed by the British ethnomusicologist Jonathan P. J. Stock. He refers to research on English folk music sessions in a pub in Sheffield:

> "The numbers of an ensemble might claim (and believe) that interpretative decisions are made democratically during rehearsal while observation reveals that one individual normally provides most of the direction" (Stock 2004: 19-20).

Stock presumes that there may be areas of practice which aren`t as he puts it "readily talked about" (Stock 2004: 20). Though, back to the Brazilian performer, he actually explained the sometimes heterogenic repertoire of an evening. These are unpredictable situations during a quite interactive performance where some people from the audience might come up with their own musical suggestions:

> Corrêa: "E também coisas eu toco, eu não gosto muito, é às vezes músicas assim pagodes, algumas coisas mais comerciais brasileiras, eu faço algumas. [...] Eu tento escapar, fugir. Mas às vezes, eu não consigo fugir". Translation: Corrêa: "And there are things I play which I don`t really like; sometimes Pagode, well, more commercial Brazilian stuff. Some of them I play. [...] I try to escape, but sometimes I can`t" (interview 26/09/2003).

Here, "pagode" refers to very popular Brazilian music, either from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (the Samba Pagode) or from Salvador de Bahia (the Pagode Baiano). They are very danceable and may have choreographies to lyrics which can be very vulgar, at times.

Taking the example of Corrêa, I would like to highlight two different levels of speaking. These levels are distinguished by the effect on the actual practice. For a start, there is what the performer really wants to play and will, for the most part, play: his "Brazilian elite". Besides that, there are songs which he only adds during the performance, due to the interaction with the listeners. Inspired by Lundberg et al. (2003:20) and their distinction of two dialectic realities, I assigned Corrêa's "Brazilian elite" to be a musical ideal: "[…] a discursive level which describes the world both as we understand it and as we wish it was" (Lundberg et al. 2003: 20). The outcome of a performance may follow this ideal, but not entirely. While Corrêa is enacting his vision of musical preference, he considers other aspects of the performance context, too.

Let me introduce another example in order to clarify this two-fold verbal account and its match to an observable performance situation. The singer Sílvia Nazário is, together with her musical partner Claudio Kumar, very interested in presenting their own compositions. In a different way to Corrêa, she sets much more rigorous limits to what will enter her repertoire of an evening. Nevertheless, the levels of her "musical ideal" and so to speak "performance-reality" are again very clear in the verbal account. There she states "I will make my own music [...]"

("Eu vou fazer a minha música [...]") which can be interpreted as her musical ideal. She continues to refer to the social context of a performance, namely her employer and the audience:

> Nazário: "Obviamente eu tenho que ter um respeito ao público, eu tenho que ser uma profissional. Eu fui contratada pra tocar num lugar, eu tenho que equilibrar os meus originais com coisas que são conhecidas do público também. E em respeito a eles, eles ficam felizes quando ouvem uma bossa nova que eles conhecem. Eu equilibro isso o máximo possível. Mas alguém vai chegar pra mim pedir por eu cantar *Ah, canta ... – Desculpa, eu não posso, eu não sei. Não sei, pra mim, não sei*". Translation: Nazário: "Obviously, I have to show respect to the audience and maintain my professionality. I was employed to play in a venue. So I have to balance my originals with things people also know. And they are happy when they hear a Bossa Nova they know. I try to balance that the best I can. But if someone comes and asks me to sing something *Sing ...!*, I say, *I'm sorry, I can't. I don't know that*" (interview 29/06/2004).

What I want to highlight here is an awareness of, at first sight, possible discrepancies between what people say and what one can observe. Some qualitative research handbooks already mention this difficulty but don't offer a solution (cf. Silverman 2005: 69; Charmaz 2006: 25). An ethnomusicological perspective may contribute to this methodological field. It opens the possibility to not only look at the autobiographical narrative of the stakeholders but also to take the aspect of their social and respective musical practice into account. A distinction within verbal accounts, these musical ideals and considerations of the particular context, can be helpful to revive the artist's decisions made during a performance. Thereby, overlapping layers of priorities can be revealed. The artist's own musical aspirations have to be brought in line with the expectations of the audience and their vision of "Brazilian music". Discrepancies between what a person says and what they eventually do are linked to these negotiations between artistic vision and contextual sensitivity. Philip Auslander, coming from Performance Studies, even coined the term of "musical personae": "When we hear a musician play, the source of the sound is a version of that person constructed for the specific purpose of playing music under particular circumstances" (Auslander 2006: 102). This contextual approach clarifies that the person talking about their musical ideals must not necessarily be consistent with the person on stage. Hence, while Auslander draws on examples of highly successful performers, he sees the construction of the "persona" only within the relationships of audiences and genre constraints (cf. Auslander 2006: 104). Additionally, my research in an urban and local setting revealed the dependence of the musicians on the audience via their economic needs as well. To please an audience or the owner of a venue can for example guarantee the financial survival, let alone the continuity of a musical career. The actual

repertoire of an evening is therefore also a reflection of how "the conflict between musical and economic capitals" (Cottrell 2002: 72) is individually resolved.

Fig. 1 – The Brazilian singer Sílvia Nazário is performing with her musical partner Claudio Kumar (left, guitar) and Chyco Nascimento (right, bass) in a Portuguese restaurant in Lisbon (02/05/2006).

Two years after the interview with the singer Sílvia Nazário, I met her again in a new venue. There, she refused to make compromises for her listeners even more strongly. This was her way of getting closer to her musical ideal – of presenting her own compositions – which she assigned to be her self-realization (realização pessoal, conversation with Sílvia Nazário, 02/05/2005). Over the following few years, Corrêa increasingly also came to realize his musical ideal of the "Brazilian elite". He participated in recordings of cover versions of Bossa Nova and MPB in Portugal (e. g. Velez 2005). By viewing this over time, one can notice how the realization of the expressed musical ideal is intensified. In that way, I suggest that this level of verbal account approximates itself more to the observable action and reveals its power for the individual to decide on their next steps in their musical career. One could almost speak of the creation of individual "audiotopias". Josh Kun introduced this term to denote "sonic spaces of effective utopian longings" (Kun 2005: 23). While he exemplifies this effectiveness within the "American audio-racial imagination" (Kun 2005: 25) it might be applicable to the power of individual sonic spaces which in this case musicians envision and gradually take possession of.

SECOND EXAMPLE: LEARNING CAPOEIRA

My second example will furthermore illustrate the link between verbal account and observation. This time, I can draw on a much more actively involved observation. Since 2004, I've been a student of Capoeira, an Afro-Brazilian martial art. It's noteworthy that it is not only a very playful game between the opponents, but also a musical framework. Since the end of the 1980s, the continuous flux of Brazilian emigrants has brought this martial art to many European countries, too (cf. Assunção 2005: 191-3; Delamont/Stephens 2008).

For me, the bodily exercises as well as the musical culture have been a great challenge since it was in both cases an introduction to a new mode of expression. In order to learn and understand, I listened attentively to the words of my teacher, went to workshops with other instructors and read the available books in Germany (e. g. Pinto 1991; Capoeira 1999; Onori 2002). Looking at it from today's perspective, I have heard things I didn't immediately understand. A frequent statement was that the musical bow in Capoeira, called the "berimbau" was the "master of the Capoeira" (e. g. Mestre Leo quoted in Rodust 2005). Of course, the instrument cannot play itself! Yet, it is the sound of the Berimbau which indicates the style and speed of the game in Capoeira between the two opponents in the center of the circle (the "roda"). Equally, the Berimbau – or rather the person that plays it – marks the beginning, the end or can even intervene in the game. It's these crucial functions originating from the Berimbau that give it the reputation of being the "master of the Capoeira". So taking my own experience and participant observation during a performance into account, that statement is eventually clarified.

Yet, I often heard many more pregnant sentences. For example, there is a common one which this time I cite from Mestre João Pequeno, an old and highly respected master in the international Capoeira world: "Capoeira can teach you everything" (quoted in Rodust 2005). Well, can it really? These kind of sentences, I often retreated into the subconscious of my Capoeira practice. They didn't seem to be of much importance to my own experience where I perceived Capoeira lessons and the actual game as very different from my normal life. – What is at stake here again, is that verbal account and observation don't seem to quite match. But never would I have dared to publicly doubt it, out of respect for the instructors and their wealth of experience.

In May 2007, I went to a Capoeira workshop in Hamburg, Germany where they had also invited the famous Brazilian Capoeira mestre, Mestre Acordeon (Capoeira10: 25/05-28/05/2007). It really was a huge event, a happening, with hundreds of Capoeira practitioners. By that time, I wasn't a total beginner anymore. Nevertheless, looking at all these fantastic Capoeira practitioners, including women with great fighting spirit, I started to lose courage right from the first day. Finding myself now outside of my familiar group, I trembled and felt very unsure about my position, for instance in the decision whether to go into the

beginner's or advanced class. I remember I even shed some secret tears over these feelings of inferiority. In this vulnerable situation, the words of Mestre Acordeon came to me. In a lesson, he had reminded us to always really be there and use the training time. Neither compare yourself with those of a belt color that marks a higher graduation, nor underestimate those with a lower belt color. Always and in every situation, you can learn from people. But most importantly, mind your own progress in your own time.

For the next three days, these words became an important guideline for my training and my experience. The feeling of helplessness left me. I realized I didn't have to be as good as the others. I didn't have to be in every "roda" (the circle where the opponents meet). What counted now was *my* way of learning, be that in situations of training or of the actual Capoeira games ("jogos"). So for those performances, it meant that I stepped back, remained reticent. I still participated in the essential singing and hand clapping to help create and maintain the good energy called "axé" for the opponents in the circle. Suddenly I realized how I was enjoying just watching all these fantastic and spectacular players. And yes, I still was a beginner.

Fig. 2 – Mestre Acordeon speaks to the participants of the Capoeira Workshop in Hamburg, Germany (25/05/2007). To the left of him, the instructor Ricardo Queiroz holds the important instrument, the Berimbau, ready to play.

During this workshop, my passion for Capoeira moved into its next phase. It still was a game, a physical challenge, a musical event. But Capoeira had taught me more. The words of Mestre Acordeon had helped me to overcome a crisis. A crisis

which I knew well from other instances when I had felt very unsure of myself be that questions of whether I could finish my PhD, whether it would ever measure up to..., whether... Capoeira has shown me a way out. That is to concentrate (not to compare or worry) as well as accept my own way of learning. Only thereby can I shape my individual path of knowledge which is able to connect my life's lessons of the past with those of the near future. In this sense, I feel Capoeira may be a tool which can "teach you everything", as Mestre João Pequeno (and other teachers) expressed it before. Yet, similar to the example of Brazilian performers in Lisbon, for the individual there can be a temporal gap between a verbal account and a congruent experience.

After the incident in Hamburg, I started to "tune" my ears in a new way to the lyrics of Capoeira songs which always accompany the physical practice. For example, the song "Menino novo" serves now as a musical reminder. In the lyrics, the young practitioner is admonished not to take the belts of Capoeira as *the* reality for his way of learning:

> "Menino Novo, Preste atenção, Não julgue o capoeira, Pela cor do seu cordão". "Não julgue o capoeira, Com a corda que ele tá, No lugar onde eu pisei, Você ainda vai pisar". Translation: Chorus: "Young Man, Be aware, Not to judge the other, By the colour of their belt". Verse: "Don't judge the other, By the belt he's got, Where I have stepped, You still have to go" (Mestrando Bigodinho, sung by Soares 2007).

In that fragile moment of my learning Capoeira I was lucky to have a teacher like Mestre Acordeon helping me to build a bridge in order to overcome these feelings of anxiety and uncertainty.[1] In his book *Capoeira: A Brazilian Art Form – History, Philosophy, and Practice* (Almeida 1986), he reflects on his personal experiences of becoming a "capoeirista" (a Capoeira practitioner). He doesn't leave out how he turned away from Capoeira and then discovered it again in a new light. His own crisis might thus have made him very sensitive to the difficulties of his students; even more than twenty years later. In his book, Bira Almeida alias Mestre Acordeon recalls how at one point his own limited perceptions hadn't let him see "anything more in Capoeira" (Almeida 1986:145). He describes his own way of overcoming this attitude as a challenge since he had to leave the comfort of familiar ground what he calls "playing in the light". He resumes:

> "I think that in order to progress in Capoeira as well as in life one must have a curiosity and drive for more knowledge, even when the sacrifice of the comfort of 'playing in the light' of already known stages" (Almeida 1986: 147).

[1] In my first participation in a "campeonato", a concourse of Capoeira practitioners, I won the first prize in the beginners' category (06/12/2009, Campeonato of the group "Brasil Capoeira" with Mestre Matias; Berne, Switzerland). So, I may have learnt my lessons well.

Taking this quote, it is interesting to see that Almeida naturally links Capoeira to broader lessons in life, too. – But then, how can practicing a martial-art be thought of as being separated from "life"? Why is it that not only me, but Almeida too, are referring to Capoeira *and* life? We seem to create an artificial gap between the experiences of daily life and the practice of Capoeira. Surely, those experiences seem to be embedded in very different contexts. Yet, by taking my perspective as the main relator focus, the distinction between performance and "ordinary" life has become blurred.

Recent approaches to musical performance foster such an all-encompassing notion which rather than stressing the musical work emphasize social relationships, respectively "what people do" (Small 1998: 8). This approach resonates with the term "performativity" on which Performance Studies is grounded (cf. Madrid 2009). Here, the shift has more explicitly been explored to theorize larger issues which extend to the ordinary and identity (de-)construction (cf. Jackson 2004: 182-3).

The above outlined example demonstrates how the exceptional setting of Capoeira had made me much more aware of the internal self-knowledge processes. Surely, these processes don't stop in daily life, though there, they may not always be perceived as part of a "performance". Rather, one could refer to different "degrees of performativity" such as the Cultural Historian Peter Burke suggests (Burke 02/12/2009). The created bias of performance/non-performance can thereby be avoided. In addition, it sheds light on the individual or contextual formation of identity. For example, in the case of Capoeira, the reader accompanied my learning process in which I eventually drew parallels to other situations of emotional weight. Such narrative reflections not only reveal the knowledge-generative nature of performance situations (cf. Blau 2009), but they also point to the transcending role of the researcher. As the ethnomusicologist Michelle Kisliuk has already expressed it when referring to the equally misleading term of fieldwork in that it is "intensified life, but part of a life-flow all the same, and it is inseparable from who we are" (Kisliuk 2008: 184).

CONCLUSION

With respect to performance situations, I presented two examples of fieldwork data in order to accompany their transformation into ethnographic writing and interpretation. Methodologically, I based myself on interview accounts of qualitative research. Nevertheless, while applying the indicated analysis of discourse (cf. Jäger 2001), I couldn't ignore some discrepancies between verbal accounts and observation. In the first example of Brazilian performers in Lisbon, I resolved to distinguish different levels of speaking: the musical ideal and the considerations of performance-reality. In an urban and local setting where the income of live performances is not always sufficient, a performer's "musical personae" (Auslander 2006) on stage may well be different from their own artistic

vision. Interestingly, by taking a longer time period into account – I mean repeated performance – these ambiguities have become more and more indistinct. The Brazilian performers seemed to increasingly live up to their musical ideals. This was also true for me in Capoeira, where I eventually encountered the vividness of a mere sentence. I find this outcome even more astonishing, as I interpreted the data against the background of two different epistemological models.

Fig. 3 – Jamesson da Silva (present teacher of the local group) and the author play Capoeira in front of curious residents and passing tourists in Warnemuende, Rostock, Germany (16/08/2008).

In the first example, I assumed a reality which would allow an objective access (see my observations), but at the same time acknowledges the constructivist contribution of the individuals (see the inclusion of their verbal accounts). This model of reality presents an in-between-solution of realistic and relativistic ethnographical concepts (see also Emerson 2001a; 2001b). In the second example, I highlighted my own experience as a Capoeira practitioner. Here, one could say it was grounded on a more phenomenological background which has also come to be explicitly applied in ethnomusicological (auto-)ethnographies (e. g. Downey 2005, Grey 2007; Wong 2008). By referring to an emotional, respectively embodied experience, the ethnographic account included the personal more strongly than in the first example. Thereby the question of what a performance constitutes came under much more severe scrutiny. On a theoretical level, the dichotomy of performance/non-performance was balanced by perceiving different "degrees of performativity" (Burke 02/12/2009). This assumption may not exclusively be used

for an auto-ethnographic recount. It may possibly be a lens through which the musicians of the first example can be seen through as well, namely as interviewees and as performers of a "musical personae".

As a consequence of the interrelated outcomes of these two epistemological models, I would like to encourage a flexible handling of ethnographic writing styles. That is, they need to not come out of personal preference but be adapted to the available fieldwork data. Additionally, I recommend a close look at this transformative process which occurs between data gathering and writing. If there is something that shakes the perception or breaks the rule of logical understanding, it may be worth of being part of the ethnography itself. The focus on conceptual earthquakes may eventually lead to an analytical transparency which helps to gain decisive insights. This vein of writing I would call "performing ethnography".

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MUSIC AND IDENTITY: VARIED ASPECTS IN THE SINGING OF AN ARAB ISRAELI SINGER

ESSICA MARKS

ABSTRACT

This article explores the singing of a female singer as expressing aspects of gender and vocality that are related to culture and multiculturalism. Singer Lubna Salameh is a Christian Arab woman that currently lives in the Western Galilee. A citizen of Israel and a member of Israel's Arab minority, Lubna Salameh is a professional singer who appears in Israel and abroad, and is today considered to be one of the leading Arab singers in Israel. The article presents Lubna as culturally plural: in terms of religion, she is Christian; in terms of culture, she belongs to Middle Eastern Arab musical culture; in terms of nationality, she is Israeli citizen. Her singing will be examined following several main aspects: the relations between gender and ethnic, religious and national aspects; the singer's vocality will be discussed first as concerned with the audible voice and the construction of the non verbal meanings, another aspect will be the performative dimension of Lubna's vocal expression, and another issue will be vocality as a cultural construct. The repertoire of the singer will be examined as gendered culture.

Keywords: Gender and Music, Gendered Musical Culture, Multiculturalism, Vocality, Arab Music, Music in Israel.

INTRODUCTION

In June 2000 I attended a concert in the annual Jerusalem Festival in which the performers were three female singers and the repertoire consisted of Arab music. One of the singers attracted my attention since her voice and performance were very impressive and I was intrigued as she was not known to me at all. I have found her identity and because I was so impressed by her performance, I continued to keep track of her musical activities and performances in Israel. This singer is the focus of the current article. Her name is Lubna Salameh and she is a Christian Arab woman, who currently lives in the town of Kafar Yassif in Western Galilee, Israel, of whose inhabitants are Christians, Muslims and Druze. She is a citizen of Israel,

and a member of its Arab minority[1]. Lubna Salameh is a professional singer who appears in Israel and abroad, and is today considered to be one of the leading Arab singers in Israel.

SOME THEORETICAL THOUGHTS

Bernstein (2004: 4) claims that "Voices not only signify gender, but also ethnic, national and religious identities around the world". This is the basic starting point of the examination of Lubna Salameh's singing. In her case the combination of gender in music and the fact that she is a member of a minority in Israel is a platform that enables us to explore her singing following Bernstein's idea.

The issue of gender is closely linked to the subject of vocality, thus when we address the issue of gender in Lubna's singing we have to point out some theoretical concepts concerning the term "vocality". Dun & Jones (1994: 2-4) attribute three aspects to vocality. The first is concerned with the audible female voice and focuses on the construction of the non verbal meanings. The second aspect puts an emphasis on the performative dimension of vocal expression: the dynamic, contingent quality of both vocalization and audition, and their vital interrelationships. The third facet treats vocality as a cultural construct. According to Dun & Jones by specifying female vocality, we also assert the centrality of gender in shaping that construction.

Since both language and society are structured by codes of sexual difference, both the body and its voice are inescapably gendered. The acoustic and expressive qualities of the voice are as much shaped by an individual's cultural formation as is her or his use of language (Dun & Jones 1994: 2-4).

Music provides a wide range of opportunities for the expression of those nuanced sets of ideas on genders that are typical of every social group (Magrini 1995: 8). According to Magrini factors of musical behavior should be analyzed and valued as musical expression that is a gendered culture. Magrini claims that the existence of male and female performance practice of the Italian ballad has to do with the fact that the music making had very different goals and meanings for men and women (Magrini 1995: 3). A central part of Lubna's repertoire is based on the

[1] Israeli society is composed of two main groups: the Israeli Jewish majority (75%) and the Arab Israeli minority (20%). The Arab population of Israel is divided into Moslems (80%), Christians (10%) and Druze (10%). The Arab minority is distinguished from the Jewish majority by language (Arab) and religion: Moslem, Christian and Druze (Haidar 2006). An important point related to this article is that the two groups – the Jewish-Israeli majority and the Arab-Israeli minority – in general have different cultures and the music is part of these cultural differences. The Musical culture of the Jewish majority is based on the Hebrew language and tends towards the western popular music style whereas the musical culture of the Arab minority in Israel is based on the Arab language and the Arab musical culture. This music consists of the popular music of the great Arab musicians of the 20th century, modern Arab Pop music and folk music (Regev 1993; Marks 2008a).

repertoires of famous female Arab singers, thus it can be treated from a gendered culture point of view.

Based on the theoretical ideas mentioned above, the singing of Lubna Salameh will be examined following three main aspects:

1. The article will try to enhance and explore the relations between gender and ethnic, religious and national aspects in Lubna's singing.
2. Vocality in Lubna Salameh's singing will be examined first as concerned with the audible voice and the construction of the non verbal meanings; another aspect will be the performative dimension of Lubna's vocal expression; the next issue will be Luban's vocality as a cultural construct.
3. The repertoire of the singer will be examined as musical expression that is a gendered culture.

LUBNA'S MUSICAL LIFE HISTORY

Lubna was born in 1975. She is the eldest child of a family in which she has two brothers. Her father, Emile Salameh, came from the village of Tur'an in Western Galilee, and her mother, Nuhat (nee Bushara) from the village of Mrar in Upper Galilee. They are Catholic Christians.

On her mother's side, her uncle was an *oud* player and singer. Her father was a professional musician in his younger days: he played the *oud* and sang. Her paternal grandmother, Hanna Salameh, has a "wonderful" voice, and still sings, but was unable to become a professional singer as a result of the family's opposition. This grandmother was very close to Lubna, had great influence on her in musical matters, and encouraged her to become a professional singer. On her father's side, all her uncles and aunts have fine voices, and play the *oud* and the *darbouka.* Her father's sister, Violet Salameh (48) is one of the best-known Arab singers in the Middle East.

Lubna was born and grew up in Haifa, a city with a mixed population of Jews and Arabs, as did her father. From kindergarten to the end of high school she studied in the school of the Carmelite nuns in Haifa. Though she grew up as a Catholic, she married an Eastern-Orthodox Christian, and now belongs to that denomination. When she was a small child Lubna did not sing, and did not consider that she had any talent for singing; she was very fond of dancing. In her school, however, when the festivals or such events as Mothers' Day were celebrated, the nuns realized that she had a beautiful voice and was talented, and encouraged her to sing in school events. In the nuns' school Lubna sang choral hymns (Carmelite Catholic), Italian folk-songs, and Italian sacred songs. There was a small orchestra in the school (of girls only), which also played and sang Arab songs, mostly of Feirouz (the Lebanese Christian singer) and other Arab singers, mainly Christian.

Lubna has never had formal lessons in music and song. She has never learnt any formal voice training, or how to read music. All she has learnt, she has learnt by herself: from her father, from her aunt and her grandmother, from the radio, records and CDs. Lubna's development as a singer began in the school choir, and in time she began to sing solo parts. The school's music teacher was Albert Balam. In 1985 he organized a festival and competition in Haifa for young singers from the Arab sector. Lubna, at the age of ten, was one of the first children to take part in this competition. She sang songs of Arab singers such as Asmahan and Leila Mourad, and came first in the competition; it was her first public appearance. After winning the competition, young Lubna was invited to participate in a television program in Arab called "Tomorrow's Stars", which followed the careers of musically gifted children from childhood to the age of eighteen. Lubna was a regular participant in this program for eight years. As a result of her participation in the 1985 festival she was also invited to make a number of public performances in various places such as community centers, festivals for the promotion of Jewish-Arab coexistence, and pubic events in the Arab sector in Israel. From her childhood onwards her parents related to her singing very sympathetically and supportively and never raised any objections to it.

GENDER IN RELATION TO ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS AND NATIONAL ASPECTS IN LUBNA SALAMEH'S SINGING

The singer discussed here is part of the Christian group that is a subgroup within the Arab minority in Israel. The fact that she is a Christian, and not a Moslem, is of some significance to her situation as a female singer in the Arab-Israeli society. Here a short explanation of the status and situation of women in the Arab minority in Israel is requisite.

Although a significant progress has been made in Arab society in Israel in recent decades concerning the status of women, especially in acquisition of professional work and education of women, the status of women in Arab society in Israel is problematic compared to the status of women in the Israeli-Jewish society or the status of women in the Western world[2]. The number of women in the Arab-Israeli society that go out of their home to work or have a career is very low compared to the Western world, and is only about 22%. A point related to our study here is that within this population of Arab women in Israel, the situation in the Christian sub-group is much better. The percentage of Christian-Arab women who have jobs and careers is much higher – 42%. Today, the situation of a woman in the Christian-Arab sector of Israel who pursues a career is much better than that

[2] Haidar 2006: 64-68.

of a Moslem woman, although that situation is still worse that of the Jewish-Israeli women[3].

In her performances, the feeling sensation of the power of her femininity is very important to Lubna. This notion is related to the problems of women status within the Arab-Israeli society mentioned above. Lubna says that when she is on stage she has a feeling of tremendous power. "I, a woman, am standing up, and, in fact, controlling a big audience, and they follow me. That's a tremendous power which I possess as a woman, and I don't have it in any other area of my life".

The issue of gender in the Arab Israeli community is complex, and Lubna's activities as a singer can be interpreted in relation to the issue of women's situation in that community. Lubna's main audience consists of all sectors of Arab-Israeli society: Moslems, Druze and Christians, and as was explained above. The overall status of women in the Arab minority in Israel is low in terms of independence and careers choice, thus her singing career is regarded as an exception by the Arab society she lives in. The figure of her grandmother, who wanted throughout her life to be a singer, and who, according to Lubna, had a "wonderful" voice, has been of cardinal importance in her life. Lubna's grandmother is still alive, and Lubna grew up with her stories, including her sorrow and pain when her family – primarily her father, and thereafter her husband – refused to accept her choice of a career as a singer because she was a woman. When Lubna began to discover her musical talent and her exceptional voice, her grandmother began to encourage her to sing, and she still affords her support and encouragement.

The support of her close family is probably the main reason Lubna was able to develop her singing career. Her close family did not oppose her appearing in concert-halls and on public platforms, either as a child or as an adult. Her parents, and her father in particular, gave her much encouragement, and did not consider the fact the she was a girl, and, later, a woman, to be an obstacle to her singing career. It should be pointed out that the approach of Christian Arabs in Israel to women is more liberal than that of Moslem Arabs. This is apparently the reason why those in the near surroundings of her childhood, which were Christian and urban, reacted favorably to her singing and performing. When she met her husband she was already a professional singer; he accepted this fact as part of her personality, and supported her, and related positively and supportively to her profession. When she married, however, and went to live with her husband in his village – Kafar Yassif, in Western Galilee, with a mixed population, her extended family did not approve of her performing mainly in the evenings – indeed, every evening. Most of her performances, primarily until the year 2000, were at weddings and Lubna says that her husband's family's attitude to her going out to perform at weddings every evening was extremely negative, and she and her husband were told "A respectable woman doesn't go out every evening without her

[3] Vartzberger 2001.

husband", and "No woman should appear on a stage in front of strangers", and the like. In the early years of her life in Kafar Yassif she would leave her house secretly, from the back entrance, or under cover of darkness, in order to avoid comments being made to her or her husband. She says that her husband supported her throughout and that after several years his parents and brothers and sisters grew accustomed to the fact that she was a professional singer, and even began to see her profession in a positive light.

Motherhood and her career as a singer have created some internal conflicts in Lubna, which in my opinion are connected also to the culture of the society she belongs to. She has two daughters, one seven and one eleven years old. Over the past seven or eight years her career has required her to travel abroad frequently, to Europe and the US. These journeys last for several days, sometimes several weeks. When asked whether there was not a conflict between motherhood and her singing career, she replied "Not at all. I carried on working and developing myself as usual when my daughters were born". She added that she was aware of the fact that her absence from home was not the normative behavior of a mother in her society, but the acceptance of her close family, mainly her husband, enabled her to ignore these norms. But later on in the conversation she said that motherhood began to be a difficult problem in her career when her daughters began to grow up. "When they were infants, it was never a problem to leave them in the evenings, or to travel abroad for a few weeks. But when they grew older, and my relationship with them became closer, I felt very anxious every time I went away for some time. From the practical point of view I had no problem, since my mother-in-law has been looking after the children since they were born, but I felt that my relationship with them was suffering, and my longing for them began to be intolerable". She began to limit her trips abroad to four days each, so that her maternal role, and her relationship with her daughters, which is very important to her, should not suffer. Today she says that she tries to keep a balance between family and career, although, as she says, it is far from easy. An interesting subject which arose in the course of our conversations was her choice of a career for her daughters. She confessed that if it depended on her she would not influence them to become singers. "It's a very hard life", she remarked. When pressed to elaborate she admitted that she thinks it is still harder for women in her society to be a singer, a performer than for men. On the other hand, if they do choose such a career she will encourage and support them.

It must be mentioned here that in the Arab community in Israel (even in the Christian sector) women are still not encouraged to have careers which force them to be outside their home for long period of times. Having many conversations with Arab Israeli men and women proved that almost all of them disapproved of women who did not have full responsibility over their household and raising the children. Lubna's way of life is still an exception in that society.

The fact that she belongs to the Christian sector also influences the way she presents herself on stage – she usually wears elegant evening dresses with open neckline and shoulders, and in her daily life she also wears western style clothes. This style of dressing is not the normative way of female dressing in the Arab-Israeli society, especially within the Moslem sector. Although the major part of her audience is Moslem she claims "I am a Christian not a Moslem, and I am also a modern woman". Thus she thinks her way of dressing on stage is appropriate to her identity.

VOCALITY IN LUBNA SALAMEH'S SINGING

When addressing Lubna's voice and the nonverbal meaning of her vocality I would like to discuss this issue from the angle of her audiences. Lubna's singing voice is considered by her audiences, Arab and Jewish alike, as "unique, very expressive and beautiful"[4].

The non-verbal meaning of her singing is an aspect that relates to Lubna's different repertoires and audiences. Each repertoire and style of singing has a certain meaning to the specific audience. The varied styles in her repertoire lead to an increase in the types of audience before which she appears. The audience for Arab music, mainly of the great Arab musicians of the twentieth century, includes two principal groups: one, from the Arab Israeli population; and the other, a sector of the Israeli Jewish population which originated in the Middle East, and of whose cultural heritage Arab music forms part. For the audience of the Arab-Israeli sector, Lubna's singing expresses their Arab cultural identity. Among the Israeli Jewish sector there is a group of Iraqi-born Jews who have a deep affinity for Arab music since they were born in Iraq and the Arab music is part of their upbringing. These Iraqi Jews are fans of Lubna and her music and for several years have been regularly inviting her to appear before small audiences in private houses. For them Lubna's voice, style and repertoire (Arab songs) expresses their lost Arab culture they had to leave behind when emigrating to Israel.

The audience for her Israeli songs is primarily Jewish-Israeli. In their joint appearances this audience mostly consists of Israeli Jews who belong to the scene of "World Music" in Israel, as well as a group who have been regular fans of Gronikch as performer and composer for several years[5]. For this audience Lubna's voice and singing represent "the voice of the other" since her style of singing is different to the mainstream Israeli singers. Arab music is considered part of "world music" for this Israeli audience[6]. Those who attend her concerts and performances on behalf of peace and co-existence between Jews and Arabs are Arab and Jewish Israelis who support the principles of peace, co-existence and tolerance.

[4] These terns are taken from conversations with people in her concerts, interviews with Arab and Jewish musicians and articles on Lubna in the Israeli press and on the internet.

[5] Shlomo Gronikch is a composer, song-writer and performer (pianist and singer) whose work and his cooperation with musicians of various cultures in Israel are considered to be outstanding.

[6] Marks 2008b.

The performative dimension of Lubna's vocal expression is linked to her voice treatment and to her repertoire. One of the questions which Lubna was asked is how she gets ready for a performance. The question related to her singing: work on her voice, rehearsal of texts, musical preparation, and the like. Concerning her vocal preparations, she said that her voice warms up slowly. She noticed that in the early years of her performances, when she did not prepare her voice for the concert, it was only towards its end, after about an hour and a half into the concert, that her voice improved. So she learnt to devote a half-hour or an hour to warming up her voice before every concert. She does this by singing *mawal* – musical improvisations in high and low register, covering the total register of her voice. She does not practice regular "exercises". "I just sing", she says.

Lubna states that when she sings her Arab repertoire "the way I produce my voice and the way I present and perform the songs are exactly like the great female Arab female singers that I admire". The singing style of the famous female Arab singers such as Umm Kolthum, Feiruz, Asmahan, and Leila Mourad is very clearly Lubna's singing.

Stage tension is an issue that concerns Lubna regarding her voice performance. She said that before every concert she was very tense and nervous. "I get exceedingly excited". This never changes, despite the many years during which she has been performing. She is always concerns this tension will affect her voice performance. She tries to work on herself and to calm her fears, but confesses that this rarely helps: at the beginning of every concert, for the first fifteen minutes, "I really tremble"; only in the course of the performance does she calm down, and confidence takes the place of fear. "I feel my voice improves in the course of the concert, and it sounds much better at the end of the concert". She remembers two concerts, one in Turkey and one in Israel, in which her apprehension did not leave her throughout the concert. Although they were both successful, she remembers them as terrifying experiences. She says that she has always suffered from stage fright, even as a child. She used to forget her words as a result of the tension, and developed a method of inventing words to conceal this.

Lubna's vocality can be examined also as a cultural construct. The Arab music which Lubna sings is monophonic music that is not based on harmony. A central element in this music is the *maqam*, which is the most fundamental constituent of the music of very many Islamic countries[7]. It includes two basic

[7] Maqam includes two basic components: a fixed system of tones – in other words, a musical scale; and a system of melodic configurations based on this tonal system. A principle common to all *maqam* systems, wherever they are found, is that their melodic sequence includes intervals lower than a whole tone, and higher than a half-tone. Another characteristic of the *maqam* system is the element of improvisation. The Arab *maqam* system contains dozens of *maqamat*, which are divided into key "families". Professional Arab musicians, including singers, have to be familiar with the principal families of the *maqamat*, and with the secondary scales on which the system of improvisation in Arab music is based. It is based on the transition from one *maqam* to another.

components: a fixed system of tones – in other words, a musical scale; and a system of melodic configurations based on this tonal system. Performance of Arab music relies upon melodic improvisation and musical modulation. Arab music has more than fifty melodic modes and several dozen rhythmic modes[8].

Lubna, who uses improvisation in all her songs, learnt the rules of the *maqam* "Only by ear, I never had any formal or methodical instruction about the *maqam* or ways to improvise in it. Ever since I was a child I've known of the existence of *maqamat*, through my father and my uncles and aunts who sang and played, for they discussed them with each other. Ever since I began to sing I've asked which *maqam* every song was in, and so I made the connection between the songs and their *maqamat*. I also learnt improvisation from the family, from records, in the first place by imitation. Later on, when I felt more confident, I began to add my own motifs".

Two years ago Lubna decided that she needed some formal musical education of Arab music, and began to learn to play the *oud* from a professional musician, Mr. Imad Dalal. In 2007 she studied in the School for Ethnic Music in Safed College, where she specialized in reading scores, and Arab and western musical theory. Today she still studies *oud* playing, score reading and theory, and claims that she is now able to accompany herself on the *oud* when she sings. She explains the reason for beginning formal study of music: "I felt that I didn't have the requisite musical education to enable me to maintain my artistic development". She wants to develop her ability to improvise in Arab music, as well as in the other types of music which she sings, and for this she needs specialized knowledge of the theory of the Arab *maqamat* as well as increased knowledge of western scales. In Lubna's case, her vocality and repertoire are linked to her Arabic language and culture as well as to her gender. The main repertoire of Arab music in Lubna Salameh's singing consists of the great female Arab singers of the 20th century.

In her childhood and youth her repertoire included the songs of certain female Arab singers such as Asmahan, Leila Morad, and feiruz. The reason for this is that at that time her voice had a limited range and these songs did not require a very wide range. Today her vocal range is larger, and reaches lower tones, thus she can now perform the more complex songs of female Arab singers like Umm Kulthum. Lubna regards her singing as part of the tradition of Female Arab singers. Her voice has a very characteristic tone color, which is identified with the style of female singers of Arab music. In Lubna's words: "We, Arab female singers, sing from the depth of our throat and this gives our singing a very special quality of sound". The aspect of the audience is related also to this gender based repertoire and vocality, since both her audiences – Jewish and Arab – expect her as a woman-

[8] Marcus 1989; Touma 1996: 18-45; Danielson 2004.

singer to perform the female Arab singers repertoire according to a specific style of vocal and stage performance attributed to Arab female singing. These characteristic of Lubna's singing coincide with Magrini's theory (1995: 8) that Music provides a wide range of opportunities for the expression of those nuanced sets of ideas on genders that are typical of every social group. According to Magrini (1995: 8) factors of musical behavior should be analyzed and valued as musical expression "as gendered culture". For example, Lubna sings the Arab repertoire on stage in a performance style that includes standing without moving her body except limited movements of her hands, very close to her body. This style of performance is part of the cultural and moral codes of the Arab society in Israel. On the other hand, she explains that when she sings Israeli songs, like those of Shlomo Gronikch, or Bob Dylan's American songs, she uses her voice differently in order to accommodate it to their styles. "I sing these songs differently from the way I sing Arab songs" she says. "My voice production changes and I try to sing with the voice style of Israeli or American music. But I always leave places in my songs where I revert to an Arab tone and style, and that makes it my own rendering, especially in English and Hebrew songs".

Lubna Salameh in concert (Jerusalem, November 2007).

LUBNA'S REPERTOIRE AS MUSICAL EXPRESSION AS GENDERED CULTURE

As mentioned before, a major part of Lubna Salameh's repertoire consists of the repertoires of known female Arab singers of the 20th century, mainly from the period called "the golden age of modern Arab music" (Hammond 144). This music is called "The Great Arab Music of the Twentieth century" and it contains the music composed by a group of musicians and singers that were active from the 1920s to the 1970s in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. The music created and performed by these Arab musicians and singers is prominently present in the contemporary Arab music and is referred to as a base for comparison for the music that came after this period. The music of that period is still the main component of the modern Arab urban music (Regev 1993: 12-13). Within that music there are a few prominent female singers that are considered as "The Great Arab female singers". These singers hold a special place and status in modern Arab music and musicians and composers of the group mentioned above, wrote special repertoires for these female singers. These songs are identified by audiences and musicians in the Arab world as "The Great Female repertoires". The most famous female singers of modern Arab music are: Umm Kulthum, Asmahan, Warda, Najat A-Sa'ira, Leila Murad and Feiruz.

As a child and adolescent Lubna's repertoire included the work of three or four great Arab female singers: Asmahan, Leila MoUrad, Feiruz (whose work constituted a central part of her repertoire), and Majida Romi[9]. This repertoire suited her voice, and, in her view, her musical comprehension as a child. As she grew older she began to consider the repertoire of other singers, such as Umm Kulthum, whose musical material was much more complex. She says that she began to find deeper insights, and also to sing "heavier" songs, according to her definition, in the repertoire of the artists whose songs she had not previously performed. When she was a child she sang songs whose deep emotional significance she did not appreciate. At about the age of twenty, she began to perform this musical material with deeper emotional understanding; therefore, in her view, her performances also gained a new emotional depth. Her voice, too, developed and grew stronger, and her register began to encompass the lower tones which she now uses. When asked whether she performs the repertoire of female singers only, she replied that today she sometime sings the songs of male Arab musicians such as Muhamed Abd al-Wahhab, Farid el Atarash, Wadi' a-Safi, and Abdel Halim Hafez. It must be mentioned here that singing the male repertoire is not done often by female Arab singers in Israel, and Lubna says it is not always accepted positively by the audience: "I think the audience prefers that I sing the "female repertoire" rather than the "male repertoire" but I like to try once in a

[9] For further information about Arab popular music see Zuhur 1998, 2000, 2001; Hammond 2005.

while to sing "male" songs because I like to try new things and adding these songs enhance my repertoire with more materials".

When asked about songs of Arab singers composed in the past ten or twenty years, Lubna replied that there are very few new female singers of quality who perform "good genuine Arab music". She mentioned names such as Sabar abu Rab'i (Tunis), Assalah (Syria), and Angam, Zichra and Shirin from Egypt. We can notice that she is referring again to female singers rather than male singers. She agreed that her repertoire of Arab music is based mainly on the "old-timers" female singers, or the "classics", as she called them.

Lubna is an Israeli citizen and another facet of her national and cultural identity is the Israeli one. Since the year 2000, Lubna has been singing Israeli songs written by the Israeli Jewish composer Shlomo Gronikch. They met in a performance in aid of peace and co-existence in 2000, and Shlomo, who is a composer and performer of the first rank in Israeli music, suggested that they should work together on a joint performance, which would include original music written by him and by other Israeli composers. Gronikch writes completely western music, in Hebrew, and Lubna has been performing with him regularly since the year 2000 in Israel and abroad. The audiences for these performances are usually Israelis living abroad, and Arabs from many parts of the Middle East who live in Europe and the US, as well as a few locals in each country. The concerts include songs which Shlomo performs alone, songs sung by Lubna, and others which they sing together. The repertoire consists primarily of songs written and composed by Shlomo, but also of Arab songs sung by Lubna, as well as songs of Gronikch which she sings together with him. Concerning the style in which she sings these songs, which are western from the musical point of view, and in the Hebrew language, Lubna says that she sings them rather differently from Arab music, but that she always adds "an oriental complexion" to Gronikch's melodies, and even improvises on his songs, though in a different manner from the improvisations in her Arab songs. She adds that Shlomo expects her to perform his songs "in my special color, in which there is a good deal of Arab style".

This cooperation between Lubna and the Jewish-Israeli musician is an attempt to cross the gender boundaries that holds Lubna back in her Arab music environment by performing with a male musician and singing songs that are not gender defined.

This notion of stepping out of gendered repertoire applies also to the other new repertoire Lubna has added in recent years. Lubna's acquaintance and work with Gronikch led to her adding a new musical style to her repertoire – the songs of Bob Dylan. Gronikch acquainted her with Dylan's songs, since he thinks highly of him as a poet and singer, and Lubna said that "I fell in love with him at once". She began to study his songs, and today she sings several of them in a mixture of English, Hebrew, and Arabic, whenever she appears with Gronikch. Gronikch arranges these songs in his own style, and Lubna sings them, sometimes together

with him. I asked her what she finds attractive enough in Dylan's songs to make them part of her regular repertoire, and the reply was that their message is so humane and moral; in addition, "there's a lot of emotion in his songs, and this attracts me very much. When I listen to him, I always feel as if he's singing to me personally". She says that she intends to increase the number of Dylan's songs in her concerts. She has bought several of his CDs, and is learning the songs in order to sing them. When I asked her how she manages with the different styles of Arab, western Israeli and American music, she replied: "For me, music is music. If I feel an emotional link with the sounds and words, it doesn't matter to me where they come from".

In the year 2008 I noticed in a number of Lubna's concerts a very distinctive song, whose words and music turned out to have been composed by Lubna herself. Lubna says that she has been writing and composing songs for several years, but she did not have the courage to include them in her concert repertoire until recently. Her lyrics are in the Arabic language and the music she composes has musical characteristics of Arab music as described earlier in the article. At the moment she is working on a number of her own songs, and she will sing them in her independent concerts with her regular orchestra. This independent creativity is very important to her, and she intends to develop it in future. When asked about gender in her songs she replied "my songs are definitely female songs. I write and sing as a woman. In my songs I describe my feelings as a women and I see myself as part of the great tradition of female Arab singers of the past".

CONCLUSION

Studies of gender and music in recent years present most women musicians as culturally plural within themselves (Diamond & Moisala 2000: 3). Lubna is part of this state of women singers around the world: In terms of religion, she is a Christian; culturally she belongs to Middle Eastern Arab musical culture; in terms of nationality she is an Israeli citizen. When asked to give a hierarchic definition of her collective identity she replied: "I am an Arab, an Israeli, a Christian, and a bit of a Palestinian".

From the musical point of view, she considers Arab culture to be the most fundamental element in her music especially the music of the great female figures of the twentieth century. In addition, her identity also comprises, in part, Israeli popular music which she considers an expression of her being part of Israeli society. Western popular music, Mainly Bob Dylan's songs also forms part of her musical world. Her connection with Palestinian identity, which she has mentioned in several interviews, is expressed in her musical activities on behalf of peace between Jews and Arabs. This consists mainly of participation in peace festivals, and concerts, performances and recordings with a message of peace and co-existence.

Gender plays a major role in Lubna's identity as a singer, for instance, in her choice of repertoire, particularly in her choice of Arab music, in which she predominantly performs the music of women singers of twentieth century Arab music. Lubna is trying to break the gender limitations of her repertoire by adding male repertoire to her Arab music songs, and to enhance her professional knowledge of music in order to level with her all male musicians ensemble.

The musical and professional relations with the Jewish-Israeli musician Shlomo Gronikh express two aspects of crossing boundaries: the first is crossing the cultural, social and political boundaries that exist between the Arabs and Jews in Israeli society; the second is an attempt to cross the gender boundaries that holds Lubna back in her Arab music environment by performing with a male musician and singing songs that are not gender defined.

Her varied repertoire, and the different musical styles in which she sings, creates a variety of vocal characteristics which are required in order to execute these different styles. This fact broadens the complexion of her voice and her ways of musical expression. The different aspects in her identity – woman, singer, Arab, Christian, Israeli, and Palestinian – make her a singer whose musical personality is extremely varied and multifaceted.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMUNITY: ITS DYNAMICS AND ITS IMPACT ON CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

(Greece as a case-study)

ATHENA KATSANEVAKI

ABSTRACT

The importance of the community in Greece is a matter that has been discussed by a wide variety of writers. Nevertheless one way to comprehend it is to follow its impact on contemporary research. This impact is located in two ways: firstly in the lives of the researchers themselves as they reveal the quest for the community inside our modern world. Secondly it is apparent that research itself comes through a similar process. Compression of time and space results to the break down of the communal spirit. Such a break down is apparent in science and in theory and results in their inadequacy and criticism of them. This is how then community with its characteristic dynamics presents itself as one of the most important aspects of our lives.

Keywords: Traditional Culture, Greece, Community, *Mantinada*.

INTRODUCTION – A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Community was regarded as the societal unit before and during the Ottoman period (meaning the Byzantine Period and beyond) in what is nowadays Greek territory (see Nitsiakos 2000: 46-47). Due to the concept of centralization and the Central European Romantic concept of ethnic identity (which Greece was forced to adopt in order to achieve its independence), a sense of community began to decline. Thus, while during the Ottoman period Folklore studies in their so-called "pre-scientific" stage were closer to the recent concept of regional studies (in fact they were more scientific), two later identity crises (see Katsanevaki 2008: 52-53), caused by the doubts of foreigners as to whether Greek people were the "authentic" descendents of the (idealized) ancient Greeks, were the main factors in a crucial change that happened inside this field (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978: 24-25). During this so-called "scientific" period, folklore studies took on a new purpose due to the Romantic concept of ethnic (actually national) identity imposed by German

Romanticism and the ideal of centralization imposed by the Bavarian Regency in Greece after the Ottoman period. The goals of its orientation and research moved from a concept close to the recent concept of regional studies (emerging in Greek territory during the 18th century with the rise of Modern Geography) to a research seeking to demonstrate the continuity of the Greeks from antiquity up to now, a continuity harshly disputed by foreigners (see Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978: 24-25). This change was commented by several authors negatively, but little emphasis was put on the fact that the dilemma of continuity was introduced to Greek folklorists by other Europeans (see for example Danforth 1984). However, Greek folklore studies (together with music and dance research) on the one hand adopted a combination of the historical and the comparative method, while on the other hand they organized folklore research in a centralized way.

In this paper I will discuss the importance of the community (meaning a small or larger group of people with special links between its individuals),[1] trying to present its dynamics and their impact both on society and scholarship. Some discussions about the search for community in the modern world and its continuing importance as a cultural concept will be presented as well. Its importance is revealed above all when we attest that both its decline and its success evoke special reactions among the people involved, as these factors interact with other social processes in our modern world.

1. METHOD – FIELDWORK AND GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The research presented here developed in various ways. It was mainly based on personal experiences during field research conducted for almost 20 years (from 1990 till today). The Pindus mountain range was the main locus together with surrounding areas in Epirus (inside and outside Greece) and Western Macedonia in Greece, as well as other areas where populations from these areas had migrated for various reasons (Central and Eastern Macedonia in Greece and Thessaly) or other areas in the islands (Crete). Research was conducted in almost 170 villages which were searched more or less adequately by means of relationships developed with the local people. This field network expanded gradually to cover relevant geographical areas mainly in Western and Northwestern Greece. The purposes of this research and the method have been explained in detail elsewhere (see Katsanevaki 2007). Almost all this research was conducted in small communities and what I experienced there was deciphered in many and different ways to reveal their special dynamics. The scenes described here were experienced in the field.

[1] This paper is a continuum of a research partially presented and published in Katsanevaki 2008. For an overview of the term community, its meanings and different dimensions, as well as an overview of the relative bibliography, see Smith 2001 (http://www.infed.org/community/community.htm). In this paper the term *community* refers mostly to the "village" or to any group of people with special links among its individuals, especially related to rural life.

The vital thing is that constant communication with the people of these areas enriched my considerations with ideas which actually followed the messages I received from the locals. These messages were more or less apparent, sometimes hidden inside the context, so these narratives aim to reveal them and decipher their meaning. Instead of adopting the rhetorics of our scientific language to develop a theory I preferred to let the narratives transfer the reader to the field moving the atmosphere on the pages of this paper. At the end I put some brief comments in order to indicate special moments inside the narratives with "hidden" meanings which nonetheless are present there.

When I started my research about Greek folklore studies and the process of research about music and dance in Greece (the results of this research were presented in Katsanevaki 2008), which currently developed to claim the title of "Ethnomusicology" and "Ethnochoreology" and later "Anthropology of Music" and "Anthropology of Dance" (see Katsanevaki 2008), I followed two methods. The first one was the compilation of data from archives and bibliography. The other was interviews organized with those individuals that played an important role in the field of folklore studies or the organization of archives. The narratives always started as an interview aiming at some important or less important information but they usually developed into the life-stories of these people with many hidden messages that coincided perfectly with what I had experienced while in the field in so many and different ways. Their narratives gave other events relevant to those from the field. So, I followed the same method in presenting them.

As a continuation of a research partially presented in two other previous papers, this paper was my first attempt to analyze research and researchers themselves, and to present how we ourselves participate and share the same context as our people in the field. Then gradually, while listening to the narratives of the researchers, it was revealed to me that one important factor that inspired them to become researchers was an intense quest for the communal spirit and for their communities of origin in a modern world that accelerated dissolution. The important issue was that the different social circumstances created a different context which went against their former experiences. But this factor though negative became the starting point for a new creation, a new development and a new birth of their former experiences in a new social context. It was then a matter of analysis to reveal this process. Thus chapter 2.3 was written.

As mentioned, personal experiences completed the picture, as in the process of encountering the lives of other researchers I understood my own participation to the same context and similar reactions through my communication with singers. Thus chapter 2.3.4 was written.

The synthesis of this analysis comes at the end when it comes to mind that what seemed to be a personal process of research in a "life-long process" was actually a process where research as a whole participated. These considerations formed chapter 3.3.

Thus it becomes true in the end that we, as researchers of our informants, but also research itself as a general phenomenon, share relevant experiences participating in one and the same circle: the communal spirit. No matter if this spirit is transformed again and again, its importance is always apparent and its messages equally important for our own lives.

2. THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY IN GREECE

"Communal autonomy is the matrix not of claims to freedom,
but of real lived freedom" – *Karavidas*
(Nitsiakos 2000: 45, quoting Vergopoulos, 14)

2.1. Community as an expanded system of kinship. Scene 1: The Festival

Dotsiko (a Greek-speaking village in the Province of Grevena, Western Macedonia), 26th July 1991 – time of the great Feast of Saint Paraskevi. In the morning, the villagers walk uphill to the Church of Saint Paraskevi, the patron saint of the village. Her church is situated, in fact, at a height which, although is well above the village, is close enough for a lightning rod to have been placed there. Thus, the church does protect the village by diverting the lightning strikes during the great summer storms. In the morning, all the families go to the church to attend the Divine Liturgy, and after it has finished they proceed to the accustomed place of the festival. Each family (to be understood here as an extended family) or, in other words, each "clan", brings the holy bread to the priest to bless it in front of the Icon of Saint Paraskevi. Then each family lays down a cloth under its own (oak) tree or under a tent made of traditional woven cloth, the shade of which provides the necessary space to sit and start eating. Instrumentalists pass before each family and perform the songs requested by its members. This ritual has to be maintained faithfully, and only after this procedure has finished does the dance start on a flat area nearby, in which all the villagers participate. Thus in Dotsiko the community presents itself at the festival by means of its two fundamental elements in a dynamic correlation: as a relationship between the family and the larger unit.

In Dotsiko there were "four houses" in the beginning. "Four houses" means four families. The village was created by refugees who arrived at this site from a place not very far away, after the destruction (due to an invasion) of their village. Those who survived constructed Dotsiko at a place which was hidden from the direct view of the troops passing by. Its deliverance from similar devastation later was celebrated by singing the "National Anthem" of Dotsiko, which is danced during the local festival and in the festivals of other villages, where the "four houses" are again mentioned: *You didn't like Ismail Aga, Fourka and Samarina/ But you only sought out Doutsko village with the four houses.*

The community flourished during Ottoman rule, especially in the mountains, and this despite the often unexpected turns of events. The institution of the community in Greece is, therefore, very often identified with this period. However,

we know for certain that the phenomenon of the "community" and its origins even more so predate this time in Greek history (Nitsiakos 2000: 46-47). It is also quite certain that the flourishing of the mountainous community during the Turkish occupation of Byzantium was partly due to the movement of parts of population that lived in the plains to the mountains for reasons of security (see also Nitsiakos 2000: 47). This is obvious to anyone who looks closely at the map of Greece. There is an astonishing density of villages in the mountainous areas while in less isolated areas the density of the villages is gradually reduced.

The importance of the communal spirit for Greeks during the period of Turkish occupation has already become clear. The destructive consequences for a Greek of breaking away from community have also been noted by foreign observers (see Pollis 1965, Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978: 51-52). When a Greek leaves his community he loses his bearings. That is why, when he finds himself in a city in Greece or abroad, he creates other communities (op. cit.) or local associations. In other words, as one might say, *he transfers his community in space and time.* The following narrative excerpt quoted by Kyriakidou-Nestoros, taken from Halpern, is very important in this regard:

> "I remember a characteristic example narrated by an old friend, who was the Greek consul many years ago in the city of Suez, an important port for sponge-divers. Many people from the Dodecanese had settled there – from all the twelve islands, and they formed twelve communities. Since communication was somehow hard to achieve among all twelve of these, the Consul summoned their representatives and asked them to unite their communities into one – a common community of all those who came from the Dodecanese. Some time later, as he had received no news, he asked them what had happened. 'We followed your advice,' they said. 'So, did you dissolve the twelve communities?' 'Well, no! We formed another one for all the Dodecanesians together, a thirteenth community,' they replied" (Halpern 1967: 150, Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978: 52).

Thus, the first basic question that a Modern Greek will ask is, according to Kyriakidou-Nestoros (op. cit.), *Where are you from?* We could also add that the second basic question is, to give a literal translation, *Whose child are you?* i.e. *Who are your parents?* This is because the community is a broadened system of kinship, which is usually real, although in some cases it may also be fictional (Nitsiakos 1991, 2000: 49), and it should be treated as such. The attempt to identify the visitor's origin becomes more specific afterwards, since the member of the community seeks to locate the limits of a less broadened system of kinship, namely the family. *Whose child are you?* is thus a crucial question.

This connection between family and the broader "whole" in the little community (little community, see Nitsiakos 2000: 48, by Redfield 1955: 45) is more than evident in the ritual of the festival.

2.2. The Community as a Form of Self-Definition in Time. The Search for the Community in the Modern World

When the Community Enters the Urban Center… The Transference of the Community – Ideals and Their Transforming Ability. Positive and Negative Reactions during the Search for Community in the Urban Context

Scene 2: The "Parliament"

Thessaloniki, Aristotelous Square – the corner of one of its most central squares. There, at the top of the square, above Egnatia Street, there is some open space with trees, benches and a statue in the middle: the statue of Elevtherios Venizelos. The space is surrounded by two important monuments, which reveal the character of this particular urban location: on one side lies the Church of Panagia Chalkeon, one of the old churches from the Byzantine period, and on the other side there is the "Paradise" bath-house, the Turkish bath. Above these two monuments lies the area of the Roman Forum, which is an open area with a small theater and some *stoae* that can be seen clearly among the broken marble. In that place, around the statue of the great politician of the modern period, one can find a group of people gathered together. The important fact is that most of them are elderly. Sometimes passers-by may listen to them as they engage in lively conversation. The main subject is politics. The dialogue is typical of the coffeehouse of a community in the countryside, one of the main social centers where men gather, and important decisions and announcements are made. When the weather is good the men's council is instead held around the usual plane tree in the square. There, the circular shape of the square facilitates communication and discussion. One can often see the elders or "senate" of the village all sitting around on seats which are frequently placed around the tree, and holding the basic symbol of "senatorial power" and gravity: the shepherd's crook or staff.

We move back again to Thessaloniki. Once, while passing by the statue of Venizelos in the city, I commented on the extraordinary scene of this informal meeting, and the answer I got was: "Yes! It is the 'Parliament'!"

In the "parliament", after the upheavals in the Balkan Peninsula, and the arrival of immigrants, the following changes took place: the Municipality of Thessaloniki reconstructed the square around the statue of Venizelos, placing benches all around. After some time, without anybody knowing how, the site of the "Parliament" of Thessaloniki turned mainly into a meeting point for immigrants, who kept the tradition, and used the area as a locus where they could discuss their work, and financial and political problems, for they also wanted no doubt a meeting place such as they had had in their countries of origin.

And what happened to the "Senate"? The circular square below Egnatia Street became the place where the "senators" continued to be hosted. Once I passed by and, to my great pleasure, I noticed a circle of crooks following the circular shape of the Square.

Venizelos square with its amenability for gatherings (though disturbed by restoration work) and Aristotle square's circular shape functioned metaphorically as the "parliament" of the local senators and the immigrants. For an internal migrant and modern townsman this spot is one of the most characteristic ones in the city; it constitutes the symbol of the community, since through its surrounding space, circular formation and the benches, it refers back to the circle formed around the plane tree in the square of a Greek village, a place of meeting and social gathering, where social and cultural events take place, and where decisions and important announcements are made. The symbol of the community (by means of meeting places) passes to the carrier and operates based on the concepts that it transfers and the function to which it is related[2]. These functions operate in a transforming manner, so that the carrier of this symbol transforms the related objects into corresponding symbols, regardless of whether there are marked similarities or not.

When it comes to music and dance, every place that is especially charged with functions similar with those experienced in the village (the original community), is transformed into an ideal locus, which serves the community as a symbol. Thus the modern square, with its circular shape that favors the gatherings, becomes the village plane tree square or the coffeehouse, and the modern traditional entertainement center or even the theatre stage becomes the square, as long as the one organizing the feast is the local association (which, in such a case, functions as the transforming factor).

Lost in the city, the villagers try to find ways to re-experience their experiences in the village. Sometimes reactions may be negative: the transforming forms are immature as the villager is not able yet to arrange his former experiences together with the new messages imposed by the new urban context he is supposed to live in. This results in what one may call "bad imitation" (footnote 3). At other times the transforming forms are more mature and this happens when through a process of creative assimilation the villager has been able to elaborate the new messages together with his former experiences obtained in the village. When he overcomes his culture shock he is gradually able to create culture in his new context. Till this moment the symblol of the community is so strong that it permits the acceptance of miscellaneous elements (for example, synthesizers or electronic instruments in case of music), that are supposed to substitude in ussually superficial ways the original musical instruments. What seems then to be a

[2] Nitsiakos discusses the survival of the community (after its dissemination in the urban centers) via "brotherhoods" and "associations". "The communal spirit reacts, and this demonstrates the collective manner of living which is developed in the small society of a village" (Nitsiakos 2000: 41). Stokes, while referring to Black Sea musicians, also mentions that "people and musicians in particular, move around across the country, from village to city, with great regularity. Their natal village, or father's natal village, is a matter of great emotional significance, as in most societies dominated by a patrilineal ideology" but he also pays attention to the fact that the authentic "place" or "identity" that concerns them is a situation which has already changed and "is continuing to change rapidly although change is never and can never, be acknowledged" (Stokes, 104).

negative result is in fact a possitive but yet immature reaction of the community members in order to keep what is being lost, and reveals the culture shock of the villager inside his new urban context.

The community as a symbol transforms (see also Caraveli 1985: 280). *This transformation is, in fact, in reaction to its dissolution.* This reaction is sometimes negative, and in this case the transforming forms are immature (so-called bad imitation[3]), and at other times it is more mature, where a creative assimilation within the new environment takes place. In this transforming process, musical discourse also participates. If the community, as a symbol, possesses such persistence, then this means that its members deal with an intense quest for it.

2.3. The Community as a Cultural Expression of Collective Identity. "Creative Collective Censorship" and "Creative Assimilation" through "Experiential Time". From the Community Society to the Information Society and back to the Community Society and Experiential Time

2.3.1. When the Urban Center Comes to the Community…Reaction to the Intervention of the Urban Center in the Life of the Community

Scene 3: Samarina: a Positive Reaction when Requested to Express Collective Identity

Samarina (a Vlach-speaking village in Grevena Province, Western Macedonia), 16th of August, 2006 – the second day of the great festival. After the Divine Liturgy, the citizens of Samarina go out into the square. A large part of the population will take part in a ceremonial dance, the "Tsatsos" (Tsatslu). In order for the procedure to go on a group of men need to help to "open" the space by directing the dance with their crooks. This is because a dance in which an extremely large number of people is about to participate has to be coordinated. In the beginning, the priest will enter, and he will lead the first dance. Afterwards, the dance will continue with the customary dance songs. When the end of the ceremonial dance approaches, the signal to conclude will be given by a characteristic whistling of men. Then the instruments will start playing: people in the festival will be scattered among smaller or larger dance groups in the square of the school, and the ceremonial customs will be followed by a feast. A large number of video cameras (mine included) followed the dance. The organizers push away the cameras so that they do not obstruct the procedure. When things tone down, the instrumentalists, along with the men and the women remaining in the school square, will begin the "patinada", that is they will walk, dance and sing towards the "inn" (*Chani*), the village's central square. There, the feast, which will have already begun at the school square, is going to continue.

[3] Referring to a similar process in the so-called "kabongs", Glifford Geertz characterizes it as "a not so successful (at the time) quest of a more generalized and flexible ideal of faith and values" (Geertz, 156, translated from Greek).

The participants approach the square or the *Chani*. One of the oldest professional photographers in Thessaloniki is there, due to the fact that many political personalities are present, since the Vlachs of Samarina have representatives in the ministries and the government. By the time the men approach the "inn", the photographer has mounted a ladder and climbed up so that he can take photos from higher up, no doubt so that he can get a better view of the traditional clothing and of the line of the approaching procession. When they draw near, dancing and shouting characteristic exclamations, the photographer shouts "up go the crooks", and then the Vlachs raise, in perfect timing, the symbol of their identity, the crook… The photographer hastens to climb down the ladder and to take it away quickly, because the procession of the Vlach revelers may have "favored" him before by showing him the symbol of their pastoral life, but he would not be able to stop their decisive march when they encountered him or the ladder…

The reaction of the community is negative when the "center" (in this case represented by the photographer) diverges from the community's standards (expulsion of mass media from the dance's center), and positive when it considers that the external intervention will help to promote its local features and identity (in which case it agrees to alter its habits so that the crooks are clearly showing when the photo is taken).

Scene 4: Velestino: a Negative Reaction to Interventions from Center

Velestino (Volos, in Thessaly), September 2005. Vlachs from Perivoli inform me that on 25th-26th of September an enactment of a traditional wedding will take place. This would be a good opportunity to follow the whole process and to listen to songs in the context of such an event, for due to the occasion singers that I had already recorded at other times would also be singing. They did not know, of course, that this occasion was not so ideal for my job. It is true, though, that I accepted the invitation, not only because I would see dear friends again, but for another reason as well. Although it would be theatrical, no doubt, the representation would show very interesting elements of action, since Vlachs, even when they participate in a re-enactment, are so transported that they are almost transferred to another reality. It was possible thus that the recording might become the occasion for a spontaneous feast, even if it was organized as a show (where the metaphorical performance of the feast enters the procedure of recording), and, moreover, folklore material might also be present, which could be compared to a potential real marriage. Indeed, the groom and the bride almost believed that they had got married… So, we are at the point where the groom's close friends, the groom's family and his godfather enter the bride's home in order to summon the bride… It was a fact that the mass media, which had asked the Vlachs of Velestino, and in particular the Association of the Citizens of Perivoli, to prepare the enactment in order to broadcast it, had a different opinion about the feast that the Vlachs should perform… Thus, quite often they intervened in the procedure and destroyed the spontaneity of the improvising, even if scripted, participants.

The latter knew the ritual very well, the way they wanted the whole thing to go, and how they would like to celebrate in the ceremony of a "proper Vlach marriage". The moment arrives when indignation breaks out: inside the "bride's" house, women are gathered, all dressed in traditional clothes. The reporter had just made one of his usual interventions. Then, at last, the community reacts. The young man, who is also the president of the association, and who had literally exhausted himself in the effort to organize the enactment, stands in front, leans back, and facing all the women, as they stare into his eyes, ready to obey his instructions as one heart and mind, bursts out: *He has come here just to record! If he doesn't like it he'll have to leave!* The women listen to him, showing an almost schoolgirl-like readiness. And they all go out together determined to defend "what they know has to be done, which nobody else knows".

The community accepts the "center" as a means for promoting itself to the Other, but it does not accept the rhetorical, transforming intervention of the "center" concerning the expression of its identity.

Scene 5: Province of Grevena: A Negative Reaction when the Center Intervenes in the Actions of Associations

Another Greek-speaking village in Grevena Province, where there is a women's association.[4] The women there have taken the initiative to revive, or, to be precise, to revitalise the performance of customs that are in danger of dying out due to the urbanization that permeates life even in villages. There are many reasons for doing this: (1) To promote the community to the outside world; (2) by doing so, as they say, people will be attracted to the village; (3) they have some occupation that allows them to promote the particular identity of their village; (4) also some inter-village rivalry very often comes in. However, these otherwise good objectives diverge in some way from their main goal, which is the promotion of the identity of their own community to others. And thus, symptoms of divergence are observed,

[4] See also Katsanevaki 2003, 2005, 157-158 for the transcription of this conversation. The associations essentially constitute a transferal of the society of the village to a certain space. The society of the village is not completely transferred with its structures and functions, since the places where the associations are founded, by their nature, do not provide the conditions for something similar. Besides, in such a case there would be no reason to create associations. Therefore, the associations are created when, for various reasons, the structures of the society of the village or of a traditional community start to become fragmented, and the community begins to feel that its members are at risk of alienation, which very often leads to the abandonment of customs and all the other related elements. Thus, the association very often comes to fill the gap that is created by the breakdown of traditional society within the modern style of life. In order to achieve this goal, the association usually does the following: it strengthens relations among its members, it teaches customs, dances, and songs to the younger generation, organizes meetings and events, and involves itself in cultural matters, etc. (On associations and their function either within communities or in areas where members of these communities have migrated and their connection, as well as their role in relation to dance in Evros Province, Thrace, see Loutzaki 1999: 209-268. On a related issue, that is the difference between a feast and a performance, as well as the exclusion of people who cannot accept the perception that makes a theatrical performance out of customs they knew as experiences, see *op. cit.*: 246.)

on which one of the oldest women in the village comments: while she has offered her services to the association, she left it promising not to go again. The reason for this will soon become apparent. After attending a rehearsal of the association, at which I recorded some group performances of songs, I visited Aunt S., who was recognized as probably the only woman in the village who could sing the songs of the village to me and who refused insistently to sing with the association. She did in fact sing the oldest customary songs, Easter songs, funeral laments, and other dance and feast songs, and during our conversation she told me roughly the following, indignant at the experience that she had with the association: *They made us look ridiculous – not only me, but the whole village. Don't give them songs because I'll get mad at you. They'll make us look ridiculous. They're only interested in wearing the florins. We used to all dance. We were so many women – where are all of them now?* At the same time she showed me, as an example of how much better things were earlier, photographs where all the women were dancing together, even if they were dressed in the European style. Moreover, she told me: *My girl, when we danced we had respect* (σέβας-sevas) *– we entered in order. Here* [in the women's association] *they are interested in who is going to go in front. In the dances, the old women in the church would stand attentive and walk very slowly. These were holy things. Then, inside the square they would dance in a more lively manner... With this song, we started to turn the dance. What are these things that they are doing now? We did not do things like that then.*

In this woman's remarks we may notice her disagreement with the interference of an urban perception[5] in the performance of songs, dances and customs, even if in other respects the effort is being made to give as faithful a rendering of tradition as possible, and indeed for a good purpose, which is to "enrich" the repertoire and to make it more attractive. From what she says, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1) Uncontrolled infiltration of a foreign repertoire will have negative consequences, resulting in

2) change and superficiality in the style, something that caused her to have serious concerns as to whether she should disclose which songs she knew. The ethos (or spirit) and the behavior of younger women is not in accordance with the ethos of the traditional songs and dances, since

[5] The urban perception that is intensified through the mass media, through which it also penetrates village society, is an unavoidable fact of life. In the information society, urbanization becomes a global event. "Urbanization… urbanization is the most proper word in the sense that the village itself, even if you live in the village and in every sense you are a villager, since you have never left your village, for me you are from the city, you have been urbanized, because of course you have shared the values of the city. Thus, no matter whether I live in Pangrati, or on the peaks of Pindus, this is exactly the same thing. I watch the same television, I wear the same clothes, and I eat the same food. What is the difference? So this is it indeed… the result is that the material is gathered in the cities. However this is second-hand material, it is third-hand material. It is not the feast itself, it is a description of the feast. It is not the shepherd himself, it is a photograph of the shepherd. Thus, this material is much more degraded compared to the real material that is of value" (Alkis Raftis, interview, February 8, 2007).

3) the concept of *personal self-projection* is introduced, instead of the *promotion of the collective identity.* "Respect" has been lost, a very important element, without which they cannot conceive of a proper "handing down" of culture to younger people.

4) Alteration of the group character of the songs and dances, because of the lack of the social factors that require it, but also because of the phenomenon described above.

5) Because *the "I" exists, and not the "we",* the groups unavoidably fall apart, there is no group participation, and the number of members is reduced.

6) Exclusion of persons (who have a great deal to offer to the subject of tradition and are also very important bearers of it), because of *internal conflicts.*

To this woman, the most important factor, in terms of traditional ethos, was not the faithful copying of dresses, and the issue of clothing in general, but it was more about *the approach to tradition and the behavior in general* – towards things to which "respect" (*sevas*) was due.

This woman represents the traditional community in the urbanized community of her village, which she refuses to have anything to do with. What she says reveals an interesting perception: *What is traditional is what is collective. What is untraditional is anything "traditional" that seeks the expression of individuality.* This perception is reflected in the phrase "there is no respect (sevas) any more".

2.3.2. When the community develops methods of self-protection…

Scene 6: Smixi: The Community has Developed Methods to Protect its Customs from Change

Smixi (Grevena Province), one of the villages of the Vlachs of the Northern Pindus, between Western Macedonia and Epirus. On August 16-18 the great feast of the "Panagia" (the Holiest Mother of God) takes place. On the second day, people dance at the chapel of Saint Athanasius, outside the village. On the third day, they also dance in the square where the Church of Saint George is found. Before dancing they have first to clear the space of whatever might hinder the ceremony (cars or other obstacles). After the dance begins one notices that in front of the men and women who are dancing there is a man walking, holding a cane. If somebody does not dance with the right steps or loses the rhythm of the song he raps him gently on the legs with the cane. It is a light reprimand for not knowing the dance well. The community reacts when the expression of the collective identity is not respected.

2.3.3. "Collective Creative Censorship" as an Assimilating Factor and an Expression of Collective Identity. Compression of Time and the Culture Shock

By "creative assimilation" (see Katsanevaki 1998, Part A: 31), what is meant is the process that allows the entire community to process external messages and to

assimilate them gradually, after they have gone through the process of acceptance or rejection by the community ("collective creative censorship") (op.cit).

In the cases of community reaction presented above, together with the respective comments, what one could call "collective creative censorship" is at work (see also Sugarman's description in Sugarman 1988: 7), which is responsible for the operation of "creative assimilation" (see Katsanevaki 1998, Part A: 31). This creative assimilation is compressed chronologically, because of the development of technology which allows for quicker information on an ever greater scale. Thus, heterotopy,[6] about which Foucault writes (Foucault 1986), is not interpreted in any other way than as an escape from this compression of time, which Foucault calls "accumulating time" (Soja, 16).

Thus, there is one single major difference between a traditional society and contemporary society: this is the speed – so great that it is like an explosion to infinity of the time of acceleration – of the process of acceptance of messages[7] and information, and as a result the compression of the process of "creative assimilation". This compression creates the culture shock of a man who is a citizen of the world and who has difficulties in recognizing (within the process of acceleration of his personal time) his own self, as well as his own cultural context that changes extremely rapidly. Perhaps it is difficult to envisage the magnitude of this culture shock that the citizen "of the world" continually goes through. The escape from compression causes the various kinds of "transfers": memory transfer, community transfer, transfer to symbolic time and space. In the world today, modern man is moving at a pace that essentially denies him the possibility of personal intervention. No matter how much it seems that traditional culture acted collectively and thus against the person, still the time that it gave the person allowed him to intervene personally through collectivity[8].

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[6] On Foucault's heterotopies and heterochronies and their relation with modern Orientalism and cosmopolitanism, see Tragakis, 2006. Philip Bohlman defines heterotopia in the following way: "heterotopia results in deradicalizing difference, creating what I shall call in conclusion, a *post-migrant musical vernacular*", suggesting another "micro-elaboration" process (see below) that takes place in cosmopolitan cities (Bohlman 2007: 9). On the other hand he defines Utopia as: "Utopian form is itself a representational mediation on the radical difference, radical otherness, and on the systemic nature of the social totality" (Bohlman 2007: 5). "If one reaches the utopian city only by traveling in the future, the dystopian city, by contrast, requires that one journeys to the past" (Bohlman 2007: 6). All three can function in certain cases as reactions to the process of the compression of space and time and the compression of the process of creative assimilation.

[7] As Philip Bohlman states: "There are today more different technologies that enable us to encounter more world music than ever before, but the question arises as to whether these facilitate or complicate encounter" (Bohlman 2002: 133).

[8] Glifford Geertz (quoting Weber as well), refers to a similar dimension of traditional life meaning the interrelationship of the traditional religious concepts and social practices. In this way everyday living is introduced to a well – determined and well-marked process (Geertz, 176). Sugarman also states: "As is clear from the description of Prespa men's gatherings, however, individuals can affect the momentum of an event at many points through their choice of a course of action" (Sugarman 1988: 25).

In this process of escape, what is the position of the community?

In Greece, the community (the village), this social, economic, and cultural cell, suffered its greatest blow after World War II and the Civil War through the centralizing policy of the Greek state that resulted in rapid, city-centered industrialization. Yet it continues to exercise a strong impact and to be transformed within the modern, city-centered societies. It has assumed new forms that reveal *its dynamic presence as a transfer of memory and meanings*. Man, faced with accumulated time, finds it difficult to make the decision to take his final suspended cultural step. He constantly looks backwards with nostalgia and thus transfers into his symbols the society that allowed him to enjoy his experiential time. However, this society that he projects as a necessity cannot be gained locally. For the condition that he has accepted is now everywhere (see footnote 15). So, does it seem like a utopia? It seems rather that the modern condition asks him to gain at a personal level and in his personal choices,[9] and with absolute interventionism, what the society of community offered him automatically: *his experiential time*.[10] Through such an interventionist approach, he could gain what one would call, in terms of earlier anthropological terminology, "participatory culture".[11] That is to say, a culture that does not form a single linear relationship with any one form of art, but a culture that is a common *way and a possibility to communicate.* Man returns alone from the information society…

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[9] "It has been cut off from the function that it had [the song], but…"/ "Yes, it has been separated from its function, apart from some exceptions – who knows, like in Olympos on Karpathos, etc." "Yes, yes. It could be possible, if there were some care taken by the State, for these communities, that at this time are in a state of decline, to revive from a social-economical point of view, of course – and afterwards, do you believe that this would help the development of traditional music in Greece in general?/ "I think that this cannot happen from the top any more. That is, if a movement is about to take place, it has to come from below… It cannot, yes, yes… maybe it can help a bit, if the economic and social conditions improve, yes, but again, this will be something that will be different from what will result… The era of oral tradition has passed" (interview with Markos Dragoumis, Athens, February 7, 2007).

[10] Timothy Rice refers to "two different ways to think about time. One is chronological and historical; the other is experiential and phenomenological… Bringing experience into periodized histories suggests that time doesn't simply pass in a straight, measured line, but in fact is a fundamental aspect of our being and experience in the world" (Rice 2003: 162-163, quoting Heidegger 1927, 1962).

[11] "The worlds of world music, therefore, have proliferated because we can encounter them so much more immediately. To whom, we increasingly find ourselves asking, do the everyday worlds of world music really belong?" (Bohlman 2002: 133). Malcolm Chapman, describing Celtic Music in its' context and its' relationship with daily life, refers to a "participatory culture" in a similar way: "Those who regarded art, music and religion as particularly high-minded specialized activities, found on looking at Celtic rural life in the nineteenth century that things that looked like art, music and religion seemed to penetrate the most banal and prosaic aspects of daily life. The conclusion readily drawn was that all of life, for the Celts, was a kind of artistic performance, imbued with religiosity. The picture was an appealing one" (Chapman 1994: 40). Sugarman also refers to singing in Prespa "as a participatory tradition" (Sugarman 1988: 7).

One thing is certain, however: that the community, either as a transfer or as a real "locus", does not and will not cease to be the place of *micro-elaboration*. This micro-elaboration[12] is also important for taking part in the cultural expression of a community and in creating local variations. Thus, is the community a condition for culture?

2.3.4. When trying to escape from the compression of time to meet experiential time… and communication…and on a more personal note

I met papu-Manolis (grandfather-Manolis) for the first time in Rotasi on the Island of Crete in 2003. I was introduced to him by a friend after he had realized that I was fond of *mantinadas* (rhyming couplets) and Cretan songs, as Crete is my fathers' homeland and it is impossible for me to deny the familiar spices in its air.

He welcomed us reciting mantinadas. He, his daughter Eleni and his wife kyra-Maria, offered us the traditional coffee, and thus we made the first recordings. Papu-Manolis had a problem with his voice and he didn't wish to sing but in the end he sang some nice old local mantinadas tunes in a slightly weak voice. Kyra-Maria told us about the rituals and the old dances. This first meeting resulted in others. The reason was simple: After he said goodbye to us, improvising mantinadas, he insisted that we meet again. We exchanged telephone numbers to have some contact with each other and then to my pleasure and surprise the mantinadas course started.

Papu-Manolis called me quite often on many occasions to give me good wishes for Christmas, the New Year, Easter and many other occasions. Each time he asked me:

– Athena, are you listening to me?

– Yes papu-Manoli I am listening. Just let me to pick up a pen… – because I knew that he would improvise a new mantinada for the special occasion. I heard so many good wishes that were new to me. Sometimes my patience reached its end because I had to stop everything – modern life is indeed full of emergencies and obligations – but this caused me the bitterest regret later…

One summer my obligations didn't allow me enough time to go to Crete. Papu-Manolis was waiting for me. And worst of all, I was so preoccupied that I forgot to call him back to tell him that I wouldn't be able to travel there this year. So he was waiting for me and he really felt the absence of my concern… One day when I was really tired I had a phone call. I picked up the receiver and on the other end of the wire I heard the voice of papu-Manolis:

– Athena where are you?

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[12] By "micro-elaboration" is meant the process that takes place daily in a community due to day-to-day communication, and participation in communal work or local festivals. Such a process has been described by Anna Caraveli. It gives rise to what is "new" (Caraveli 1985: 260).

I felt guilty....

– Papu-Manoli, I couldn't come.

– You forgot me. Are you listening to me?

– Yes I am...

And the mantinada came up... *When the man is getting old even his friends forget him*... I couldn't stop my tears and I knew I couldn't do more for my papu-Manolis. I couldn't talk for my voice was breaking. He realized that and he then showed his concern very seriously.

– How are you doing now?

– I am very tired.

– When are you going to come to Crete?

– I will come as soon as possible...

When I put down the receiver I burst into tears. My family was afraid that something very serious had happened to me. What was going on? What happened? How could I explain my inadequacy? For it was the inadequacy of our lives in general, the inadequacies of our modern world, of our way of valuing our time, our communication, our obligations, our relationships and our presence in the world. This was the best lesson I ever had. No University would ever be able to offer this to me.

After Christmas I decided that I had to keep my promise. I planned to take a plane and fly to Crete just for a weekend to meet papu-Manolis and Barba-Giorgos, another violinist in Zyros. His story was equally important. I flew to Iraklion and stayed at my aunt's. Then I hired a car and drove to Rotasi. He welcomed me with his lovely smile and some mantinadas. He told kyra-Maria to prepare lunch and then he accompanied me to the local coffee shops. One of them was closed, so we went to sit in another one. We spent our time strolling around the village, visiting all the coffee shops, all his friends, and in the end the best of all, an old woman called kyra-Katerina, who was a story teller.

When we went back to kyra-Maria she was anxiously looking at us because the lunch was already getting cold. We had lunch and then there was my reward. I asked papu-Manolis to recite to me the mantinadas from his notebook and to let me record him on videocamera. And I especially asked him to recite the mantinadas he sang to me that last time on the phone. It was such a great pleasure to me and I really felt that he forgave me from his heart while he was reciting the mantinadas – sitting down like a small child in front of his desk and reading from his notebook while I was recording him with my camera.

When the man is getting old even his friends forget him...

He left after a while because he had to take his goats to graze. We bid farewell and I left, only to see him coming on his donkey with his goats around. It was such a lovely picture that I jumped out of the car to take a photo. The goats were afraid of me and I damaged the picture – as we modernists always damage things as we try to preserve them... I took the photo and said goodbye again. Some

boys passing in a car were laughing at me. I am sure they had never before seen such a funny "show": a silly urban lady running after the goats and a donkey to take a photo. I didn't mind that. They didn't know my secret... I left so happy and full of papu-Manolis, driving back to Iraklion. Then to Zyros next day and back to Thessaloniki by plane. I had taken deep breaths of fresh air.

I kept on calling papu-Manolis. We met once again in Crete. He was still answering on the phone but now he was forgetting how to improvise his mandinadas. He did so only with some difficulty. The last times I called him he was too weak to talk on the phone. I kept on talking with kyra-Maria. We talked once again recently and I learnt that he was strolling around with his donkey. Good news. I hope to meet him once again but if it doesn't happen I know what he offered me and that he would always forgive me when I can't do my best. And something else: he gave me the best lesson on real concern, on real communication... as well as on real culture. Papu-Manolis, thanks so much...

3. RESEARCH AND THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY

3.1. The Impact of the Community on Contemporary Research

The ethnomusicologist who decides to research the music of modern Greece will have to take on board two main considerations: (1) Apart from urban music, there are many musical areas and musical idioms that can be identified with geographical areas. (2) There is only one way to limit these areas and research their internal organization. S/he must focus her/his research on a socio-economic and cultural cell: the village (see Katsanevaki 2001) or, as I have termed it here, the "community".

Ethnomusicology in general and more specifically in Greece has followed two main paths in field research: studies that are wide in scope, and in-depth studies (see Kavouras 1997: 96). In the first case, "the researcher gathers material from as many related cultural areas as possible in order to build up a 'repertoire' or range of variations of the event", while in the second "he studies an event in detail in various social and communicational circumstances, but only within a unique cultural framework" (op. cit.). In Greece, these "related cultural areas" or "the unique cultural framework" can be translated as communities with related cultural characteristics, or one single community. For Rivers, this entails visits to local populations over a wider area in order to map the distribution of characteristics and to define the problems that require research (foundation work – *survey*), while subsequently, the extent of the study must be limited (*intensive work*), for the sake of completeness (Kuper 1983: 42). The community is thus perceived as a source of examples for comparative research in a framework of communities, or as an individual case study in the anthropology of music.

With regard to research on dance, approximately the same procedure was followed. Thus, while the comparative method sees the community as a source of variations of songs or dances, the anthropology of music recognizes the multiple dynamics of music in terms of the relationship between the art and its context.

However, the best way for someone to approach his/her subject is to get to know an area beginning with one community. After having reached a satisfactory level of familiarity with the specific community one may move on to widen up the research scope. Subsequently, one is in position to know where to conduct in-depth research. This process can last for many years, but it is the only certain means for us to be able to speak about "knowledge" of an area. It almost presupposes the identification of the ethnomusicologist with the area of his research (Katsanevaki 2007: 10-20).

Yet, in Greece, if researchers turn to the community as the main "locus" of research, we must point out that in more than a few cases it is the community that has turned to scholars with their own research concerns and needs, and that in both instances it is specific people who act. The first recordings are carried out either by urban researchers who seek the community as a symbol, or by community members who are sensitized because of their relationship with their community of origin.

3.2. Portraits of Pioneers and Researchers and their Relationship with the Community

3.2.1. Community and Identity crisis: Kalliroi Paren

Kalliroi Paren was one of the most important female personalities of Athens in the 20th century. She was a reporter and the pioneer of the feminist movement in Greece (see Katsanevaki 2008: 53, 59). However it was then, at the dawn of the European Westernization of Greece, that Kalliroi experienced her own identity crisis. She became a pioneer for the feminist movement, that here in Greece had its own character. While on the one hand she challenged "tradition", thus questioning the supposedly traditional forms of a woman's relationship with her social surroundings, on the other hand she defended tradition, seeking to preserve all the elements of culture that rural women had developed through their lives as members of a society and thus founding the Lyceum of Greek Women. This was the strange dualism that characterized the first feminist movement in Greece, and it reveals in particular the powerful presence of the countryside within the ideal of Europeanization.

3.2.2. The Origin of the Researcher and the Promotion of His Relation with the Community, within Research: Dimitrios Peristeris, Dimitris Loukopoulos, Simon Karas, Lefteris Drandakis, Giannis Zikos and Anna Panagiotopoulou

Born and raised in Epirus, Dimitrios Peristeris "heard these songs from his cradle" (Peristeris 1950, 10). Physician by profession, he was also an exceptionally

well-trained musician, although an amateur. He could play the *tamburas* and the violin, and sing Byzantine chant. Realizing that the songs would soon be lost, he recognized the need to set them down, and started to make transcriptions. He traveled to the most remote villages at his own expense, experiencing traditional song at first hand and recording these melodies by ear. In 1910, in cooperation with the Conservatory of Athens, he also prepared the first expedition to record music by phonograph in Rododafni, in the Province of Achaia (see Peristeris 1950: 10-11). He was the main inspirer of the work of his son, Spyridonas Peristeris, a musicologist and an associate of the Musical Folklore Archive of the Academy of Athens.

Dimitris Loukopoulos was a teacher from Roumeli whom Merlier met in the villages of Roumeli. He helped her to conduct her research in the region, the fruit of which was the study *Songs of Roumeli*. This is what Merlier tells us about Loukopoulos:

> "These songs were collected during the summer of 1922, in Kefalovryso (in Trichonia) and in Artotina (in Dorida). So they were songs from Roumeli. Since I was traveling for the first time in those areas, I knew how difficult it would be to conduct research without a local aide. However, my friend Mr. Manolis Triantafyllidis solved this difficulty, providing me with a letter addressed to Mr. D. Loukopoulos, at that time a primary school teacher in Kefalovryso. I am happy to say – and this also to fulfill a public debt of thanks to my dear colleague and friend, Mr. Loukopoulos – that, without him, it was doubtful whether I would have succeeded in my aim. Singularly knowledgeable about the traditions of his own native region – the wonderful series of his books clearly showed this – Mr. Loukopoulos introduced me to the best singers, and also to life in Roumeli itself" (Merlier 1981: 11).

The role of Loukopoulos, however, did not stop here: he was, together with Merlier, the soul in setting up the "Melpo Merlier" Musical Folklore Archive:

> 1. "Pernot, since he had a close relationship and acquaintance with the Merlier couple, put this suggestion to them. He had received some money in order to record music from the Balkans, and had already gone there one year previously. As they had already received this money in order to make recordings and they had already made a set of recordings in Romania, Pernot thought – since he knew the Merliers here – that a second round could be made in Greece. However, there were some conditions. The French would provide the machines and pay the technicians and Pernot. However, they would not pay the Greeks, Merlier and Loukopoulos that is, who would be helping her. At that time the folklorist and researcher Dimitrios Loukopoulos worked in the archives of the Academy. They did not pay Loukopoulos and Merlier, and they did not pay the musicians who would come to sing in Athens – because of course, these machines were extremely heavy and they could not be transported from place to place easily."

2. "The association received the money and assigned Merlier and Loukopoulos to spread their contacts all around Greece to summon singers to Athens."
3. "The people from Roumeli were summoned by Irini Spantonidi, an important folklorist of the time. I mention some names, so that you may see that many people made an important contribution to this extensive endeavor, although the chief engineer was Merlier, together with Loukopoulos. Both of them. And when the machines arrived, the recordings started immediately" (interview with Markos Dragoumis, February 7, 2007; see also footnote 10).

Simon Karas was born in the year 1903 in Lepreon village, province of Ilia (Peloponnese). He founded the Association for the Dissemination of National Music, and was involved in the recording and teaching of Byzantine chant and traditional Greek music, establishing in this manner a common theoretical system. His wife, Angeliki Kara, narrates the following:

"He had parents who sang... Both of them sang and his father played the tambura. And of course, during that period... it was a great time when everyone knew their native village or town, and knew its songs and so on... The songs that contain the whole history of Greece.... And his parents – of course they were farmers – in the evening, when they would gather in their homes, his father would play the tamburas, and his mother, Spiroula, and his father of course...Giannis Karas... would sing, and his father Giannakis would play the tamburas" (interview, April 2, 2007).

Born in 1932, Lefteris Drandakis became Director of the Lyceum of Greek Women of Athens. In his youth he went to live in Athens, gaining the musical experiences that the capital city could offer him, although he was born in Rethymno (Crete):

"I was born in Rethymno, Crete... I was born in Crete and grew up there, and lived there for my entire childhood... I'm a strange being, that's why I'm a devourer of all music and dances. So I grew up... My mother's family was split up in two, in three... two of my first [female] cousins were studying classical music and played Bach and Chopin and things like that... So they took me in—I was younger, they were seven years older than I was... and they didn't have a piano at their house... They worked at the mosque... you know, the large mosque in Rethymno that used to be a church, and then it became a mosque and then it became the Conservatory of Rethymno... There was a piano and in the winter they would go there in the dark... at around 6 PM... to practice the piano, and one time I went with Fofo, and another time I went with Eleni... and I sat next to them... Supposedly I also took a book to read (nonsense, I didn't read anything)... So I would listen to them practicing, from Beethoven's *Apassionata* to a Chopin scherzo to... Mozart

> sonatas… and I liked them a lot. Other days, in the summer, I lived with the rest of my mother's family, her eldest sister… who had children. Two… women again… who sang wonderfully… and I often went to their house, but they sang and chanted [i.e Byzantine chant], and they sang Cretan songs, wonderful *mantinades*… I would go to their house often, and next to their house they had a coffeehouse that played rembetika songs. And very often we would listen to, on records, you know, the entire repertory of the time. When I was at High School, it was the era, as we said, of Suyun, like we said earlier, and I experienced this era: [there were the songs] *Let your hair down*, *Marinella Marinella*, *Maroudas*… So I'm a devourer of everything. And I also remember that there was a pastry shop on Andistaseos Street, as they call it now, in Rethymno… and there was a shop on the corner that had and sold records, and he also played Cretan music constantly… with a second-rate loudspeaker… and he played Cretan songs. So I went from one house to my aunts' and I was full of sounds and I liked everything. I tried to learn to play the piano but I didn't manage because financially we weren't well off at all in my family… so I had a few lessons and gave up right away… That all happened at the end of the '50's… from '46 until '50 when I left."
> "Those sisters who chanted, where did they chant?"
> "Nowhere. We used to go… childhood memories are wonderful. Outside… there is this church outside Rethymno. We had a farm that my father had established… with a very simple farmhouse… We had a chapel there, a church that was dedicated to Saint Anthony and that was inside a cave… It's still there. My mother and my aunt were religious but not overly fanatic… and we would go in the summer. When the school term had finished we would go out into the countryside… It would be like an outing… We would light the candles… As soon as we entered the church, Eleni and Maria would begin chanting the hymn *Speechless be the lips of the impious* from the small canon to the Mother of God… That's why I've been imbued with the Cretan manner of chanting…" (interview with Lefteris Drandakis, Athens, February 9, 2007).

Lefteris Drandakis spent his "experiential time" in Crete. There, although this was already a period on the verge of globalization, through the micro-elaboration of messages he acquired a mixed musical understanding that allowed him to develop both sides equally, both as a Cretan Greek and as a European, without overestimating or underestimating either world.

Giannis and Anna are a young couple who have both become specialists in dance research. They both hail from mountain communities of the Pindus. Anna is from Malandrino, in the Province of Fokida, and Giannis is from Polykastano in Voion, in the Province of Kozani. What they heard as children and their experiences of dance prompted them to become involved with the art. Their studies led them to Athens. There, for the first time, they observed the difference between

what they lived and experienced in the place of their community of origin, and what was considered traditional dance in the urbanized environment of Athens. Here is what Giannis says about how he became interested in dance:

> "The first reason was that I came from a traditional society; that's an important issue. It was significant that for the first twenty years, from '50 to almost '70 I lived in a traditional community. Thus there was the background that could stimulate my interest in this subject, dance, which concerned traditional society, and the second reason was because I was a teacher – at first a physical education teacher at school, which also involved teaching Greek dances, and later on at the university, where I was posted in order to teach Greek dance. That was a second motive for me to concern myself more systematically with research and teaching, and with the ways to teach dance" (interview with Giannis Zikos and Anna Panagiotopoulou, February 8, 2007).

In the process of coming into contact with the teaching and performance environment in Athens, he was confronted by a different function of dance and another perception of our relationship with it, different from what he himself had experienced and knew in the traditional community in which he had grown up:

> "... Here, I was deeply troubled, of course, because while I came from a more or less traditional society, and knew how to dance, now I found myself not knowing... that is, facing dance as something strange... a strange thing... like it was something different from tradition... It was a style of dance that had to do with figures, movements, choreography, with things that seemed strange to me, often unreal... and of course they had no connection with what I had known until that moment as lived experience" (op. cit).

This experience of the division between what he knew from experience and what was required so that he could participate in the urbanization of traditional dance and its transmutation into a performance, and likewise his experience with education, gave rise to his first concern:

> "I said – Is that dancing? Or is dancing what I learned, what I knew in part from my own area, in my village? These fundamental questions played a great role in my searching over time until today: how research on the one hand and teaching on the other could bring back, redefine, and bring back out traditional dance with its most basic characteristics, with its essence and its content. And of course from then onwards all my energy, in parallel with my teaching, became focused on... how to take up the more authentic elements of tradition, how to research them and how to integrate them into the fabric of the subject matter that I was teaching, and in which productive educational ways we could translate them into a subject to be taught" (interview with Giannis Zikos and Anna Panagiotopoulou, February 8, 2007).

Anna comes from Malandrino, in the Province of Fokida, in the Southern Pindus.

> "So, I was born and raised in Malandrino, in a family that danced a lot and enjoyed many things; it's a tradition, that is, a family tradition, and singers… My first memories, beyond dancing at my father's and mother's feet, were dances every evening at home… We were five brothers and sisters, and my father would sing and whistle and we would dance. What is more, at festivals our family would be the first to come out and start the dance. From when I can remember – we had grown up a little, we were ten or twelve years old – we would be the first ones at the square… Until today, when the festival takes place and he hears the instruments, my father is the first to dance… If he doesn't dance that means something is wrong – he's depressed… and he's eighty-five. It's something that… I'm probably carrying it as baggage" (interview with Giannis Zikos and Anna Panagiotopoulou, February 8, 2007).

When she came into contact with the urban environment of Athens, she also discovered in turn that the forms of traditional dance that she could find there, and in which she could participate, were far removed from what she knew:

> "I felt… that is, this thing that took place didn't remind me of anything in terms of dance. Nothing… [I was] like a foreigner. Just let me tell you that it had probably… without my understanding it consciously, unconsciously… the thought was going around inside my head that I shouldn't say that I knew how to dance. The result was that I never said that I knew the *tsamiko*, let's say. Firstly, it seems that I had been influenced by what I had heard, that it was said that women don't dance the tsamiko… this [thought] had prevailed… It seems then that I had taken this in and that I didn't say anything… that I dance tsamiko… with the result that they put me in the island dances! I can say that in this urban society, after '80 I said that I dance tsamiko… Really" (op. cit.).

Her contact with education created similar concerns for her with respect to the relationship that dance could have with education, but also at a local level. As a dance teacher at school, she attempted to find ways to connect with the place where she was teaching.

> "I also continuously had this… that is, what was this thing, why was it happening… there weren't any discussions" (op. cit.).

Once she knew why it was indeed happening and had the possibility to teach in an environment where she could set out her concerns, then she truly began to discuss them. The result of hers and Giannis's experiences in the community was a long journey of quest and questioning about dance, and an extensive and in-depth

study at the local level of their regions of origin, the Northern and Southern Pindus, which resulted in several works (see for example Panagiotopoulou 1995, Panagiotopoulou-Zikos, 1994). The community continued to live inside them and to search for its vindication. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the community insistently sought its redefinition through its people, its redefinition within an urban environment that presumably can ignore it.

3.3. The Phenomenon of Worldwide Urbanization. Archives, Libraries, and Digitalization – Are These One of its Forms? Modern Programs and Trends – Research goes back to experiential time

The breakdown of communities, and changes in the relations between village and town (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978: 182-183), together with the "compression" of time, all mark the passage from a traditional culture to the modern world. The gathering of data in electronic archives is essentially the urbanization of traditional culture and the search for community by the urbanized world. The community, with all its functions and data, which are the bearers of the knowledge of these functions, is tightly concentrated in electronic archives. Modern man experiences the extreme compression of time and in the same way compresses experiences, functions, and real data within modern archives and databases. Thus, for Foucault museums and libraries have become the heterotopy of an "indefinitely accumulating time" (Soja, 16, Fouchout 1986: 26). Modern programs of digitization – part of our "information society" – are one of the significant endeavors that are being undertaken to convert the information contained in archives – and in general all those accumulated sources of culture – into digital form.

The information society, as a transfer of information to people, organizes the real accumulation of information on computers, since the human mind is unable to respond to these megabytes of memory… *And this is perhaps because the human mind is designed to process an accessible amount of information that will be of possible benefit through adopting a critical approach to it.* This enterprise – this process of digitization – is, in fact, also an expression of urban-centered thinking (the gathering of populations entails the amassing of cultural information), a process that is due to the perception of worldwide urbanization. International commerce is part of this framework, and it develops a special relationship with the local traditions of each place (Guilbault, 35, 37, 42-43), though such an international commerce has resulted in so-called "mass culture", that has replaced what was earlier called "folk culture" (see Manolaki 2008 from Ntatsis 2003: 95). The issue is this: is this information being accumulated in order for it to return to its source, that is, to serve humankind again, or is it being gathered in the spirit of possessive acquisitiveness that renders useless anything it touches? Is processing all this information truly feasible and possible, in order to return to the relationship between society and culture? Does the evidence that is being accumulated return in order to serve – metaphorically or in reality – the place from which it originated? In this framework, the prospects for

archives in the future, and also their present activities, include cooperation with local administrative bodies and associations.[13]

Nonetheless while worldwide Urbanization produces and develops electronic databases, research is more and more concerned with regional studies and anthropological issues. Most of the current projects are concerned with such issues (see The "Thrace" research program run by the "Friends of Music" Association and the "Ark of the Aegean" Program at the University of Aegean). Additionally it is apparent in many studies that emphasis is placed on the social and Anthropological analysis of music and dance in Society (see Argyriou 2005: 23-28, 34).

[13] The relationship with the countryside generally and bringing the material in some way back to its source seems to be a goal, or in general to be a concern of the directors and the associates of archives.

"– Let me ask you something… Is the archive interested, in the future, in cooperation with local entities and Folklore Museums?

– We are already doing something… At this moment I would like to tell you that… As part of our obligations to the information society, that is, as we had organized the program, we were going to make a website with the local associations, and we are already building a large database with all the national local associations, of which there are more than 7,000 throughout Greece. And I don't mean the cultural associations because that's like claiming that they are uncultured and we're civilizing them (laughter)… but I mean all those associations… that have… I can say the small homelands, as we say, that are in the urban centers. Because those are the associations that also kept tradition… with dances, with publications, with CD's, records, etc. All those associations have done a huge amount of work for folklore, and in parallel, naturally, the museums… The museums will enter a network that one can have access to easily. We worked with the associations and I consider that it's very important, and in fact I'm starting an initiative with the Parliament to gradually start presenting large areas such as Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, with exhibits of the local associations, with these associations presenting their work, because often their work is greater [in scope] than the entire Ministry of Culture. Because these things started immediately… together with urbanization. And they've been working in this area, folklore, for many years.

– You also work with associations in the countryside… that is in provincial towns and villages that have local associations, and that's good, important…

– Of course, the associations are the ones that promote the publication of a manuscript. The associations go to the Municipality or the Prefecture and say… they ask for a grant for the publication…

– They also have the possibility of getting a grant – it's easier.

– Yes, and it's a good way for us to help them too with our own academic resources and for them to do something good, so that some funds don't go to waste.

– Therefore, the archive in general has a link with the countryside…

– Yes, and at this moment I'd say that we're in a very good… I'd say that we're not enough.

– I see.

– To begin with, this thing… is… how can we put it… interactive, that is, you ask, but they also ask for something. For example, I don't have enough time even to go to their New Year's celebrations, to give speeches… all the researchers… skirmish at some times either on the radio or in person at conferences; I think some very good work is taking place, and that is something that supplies us too, because the Archive has always been a vibrant place, but perhaps it wasn't so buzzing" (interview with Aikaterini Polymerou-Kamilaki, Athens, February 8, 2007 Academy of Athens). On the role of associations in local society and culture in terms of dance in the region of the Evros, see Loutzaki 1999, 209-268. At the same time, corresponding concerns over the relationship between local administration and local culture may still remain" (Panagiotopoulou and Zikos 1994).

A series of studies that examine the relationship between music and its context, including the reactions of music to social change and the issue of self-definition, has already been published (Kavouras 1993). New approaches are evident in particular articles about music, heterotopies and heterochronies (Theodosiou 2006, Tragaki 2006), in which the chief concern is the relationship between music and self-definition, identity, and marginality while many young academics tend towards in-depth research, focusing on the relationship between music and culture, society in general, the environment, natural or otherwise, communication, networks of communication and culture (Htouris, 1997, 1999, 2000a, 2000b).

Thus though we should note that any rejection of the previous theories that would result in a total adoption of recent ones would be unnecessary, as the most important aspect of research would be to combine all of them, in order to reveal in each of them a different dimension of the "whole", let us underline that research in today's Greece presents a special interest in deepening the relationship between culture and society. Nonetheless the variation in the expression of this relationship, results in relevant theories and not the opposite. Thus the collaboration of different approaches in music studies or elsewhere presents itself as a unique solution in order to reach substantial considerations in this field (see Jim Samson 2005[14] and Katsanevaki 2006[15] Nitsiakos 2000: 41[16]). So criticism addressed to any of these theories was usually concerning their tendency to come to "international" – "global" conclusions. Compression of space and time affected science then in such a way, but it was always criticized.[17]

As I stated elsewhere, in accordance with the needs of the field and the preliminary work that has taken place in wide-ranging comparative research,

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[14] In this article, Jim Samson essentially proposes and supports the combined approach to music in the modern world through cooperation between musicology and ethnomusicology: "traditional disciplinary divisions, notably between musicology and ethnomusicology, will in due course have outlived their usefulness" (Jim Samson 2005: 38). Clifford Geertz as well, while discusses the religious transfigurations in contemporary Bali, stresses the fact that as we observe what happens in contemporary Bali (a small island), it is possible for us to penetrate in the dynamics of religious change in a way that history can no longer offer us just because it has already happened. In this way Geertz presents the necessity of searching contemporary phenomena in order to interpret historical phenomena (Geertz, 193).

[15] In this unpublished paper, an analysis of musical modernity was carried out based on the combination of a structural and functionalist, and simultaneously semantic approach, as well as the examination of the influence of geographic and economic factors and cultural networks.

[16] In this book, especially in the chapter "community" Nitsiakos discusses the problem presented in many social anthropological works, namely that they refer to community without discussing the historical context.

[17] See also Katsanevaki 2007: 8. Mc. Leod comments positively on Boas' "lack of global theory" and "his distaste for theorizing in the absence of data". The value of his work was never disputed just because he and his students followed this general rule (McLeod 1992: 150). Martin Stokes also comments on "this kind of globalizing theory" which "also makes it difficult to see certain events and processes for what they are, if one is able to *see* them (i.e. determine them as relevant and legitimate subjects for research) at all" (Stokes, 99).

we notice a transfer of the field from the local to the general and once again to the local. Indeed, every researcher can follow this course individually as well, and it may be the best way for him or her to approach the field as they carry out a life-research process,[18] starting from one specific community, conducting a broader study, and finally returning to the community and choosing a specific topic (Katsanevaki 2007: 10-20). This transfer from the specific to the general, and then back to the specific, was also discussed in my survey on folklore studies (Katsanevaki 2008). The same process may also be seen in ethnomusicology and ethno-choreography, where from the general (collecting variations from a range of areas) we return to the local, and to intensive research in the anthropology of music and the anthropology of dance. *Thus research goes back to experiential time* (Katsanevaki 2008: 63).

Such a process is to be expected. What is not expected or acceptable is that in the case that intensive field research is not completed we always deal with the risk of leaving out much invaluable data together with lots of information about the redefinition of this data within our modern world. Such research becomes more difficult as the social structure and network of the communities breaks down as a result of migration and economic decline. One may ask what role community plays today. Community will not stop being the quest of experiential time and communication and of the micro-elaboration of messages inside a personal experiential procedure. Then the question arises: if all the above considerations impose on us the quest for the community inside a modern world, is it true that its process has been interrupted by social changes or rather do we find ourselves in front of a new redefinition that presents it as a metaphor, as a transfer of experiential time and of the micro-elaboration of messages on a personal experiential level? And to what extent will such a transfer seek its definite locus once again?

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION, A FAIRY TALE: THE MAN FROM THE VILLAGE, THE SPIRITS AND THE FAIRIES, AND THE LIFE OF ONE NIGHT

Once upon a time, a man lived in a village. One evening, when walking home, he saw a spirit in front of him. He had heard stories about the spirits, but

[18] Timothy Rice refers to "life–experience understandings in Ethnomusicology" in a slightly different but relevant sense, actually describing a kind of *experiential time* and *micro-elaboration process* in ethnomusicology field research. "But if fieldwork is re-conceptualized as an ontological project, would the term 'work' still be appropriate? When one *is* in the field, isn't existence also fun and playful, at least from time to time? And don't we, as human beings, enter into caring, as well as working, relationships with other human beings while in the field, even as we do our research, apply our methods, and test our theories? Could we not search for another mediator, along the lines of the one suggested earlier, between the epistemological, methodological work of explanation in the field and the ontological understandings of human and musical experience in the field? Would we whimsically re-title our course *life-experience understandings in ethnomusicology*?" (Rice 1997: 106).

never believed that he would see one right before his eyes. The spirit sang with a sweet voice, and was slowly going towards the forest. The man was so taken by its song that, without thinking, he started to follow it. After an hour he reached a clearing in the depths of the forest. There he saw other spirits and fairies who were dancing to an unknown kind of music. They took him with them and at times he danced, and at other times he watched them dancing, for he was under a spell. The night went on until the dawn started to appear... For the whole night it did not occur to him to think about what had happened to his house and his family. However, when at some point the dance ended, the spirits left without speaking to him. He realized that he had spent the entire night with them. He turned around to go back to his village. There, on the road, he found a small stream and bent down to wash his face. Then he saw something disturbing. Instead of himself, he saw a man with white hair and the face of an old man. He started to walk and he reached the place where he knew his village was. When he came close, he saw that he could not recognize the place. The houses had changed a great deal and when he reached his house even that was difficult for him to recognize. An old woman came out from inside and he asked her if she knew someone by a certain name. She answered that that had been her husband's name, but that he had become lost one night in the forest and had never come back. He understood then that, without being aware of, he had spent his entire life together with the spirits. Before he could see the rest of the nightmare he woke up. And then to his relief he realized that it had been a bad dream...

Acknowledgements

This was a fairy tale that I used to read as a child. Now that it has become mine as well, I have told it to you in my own way… For this kind of analysis I found the works of several authors, Greek and otherwise, invaluable, and I am immensely grateful to all of them. Their names may be found in the bibliography of this paper. I wish to thank all those individuals who kindly shared their time with me so that I could conduct some personal interviews with them, namely: Lefteris Drandakis, Alkis Raftis, Markos Dragoumis, Aikaterini Polimerou-Kamilaki, Angeliki Kara, Giannis and Anna Panagiotopoulou. They inspired this paper, and their lives and stories, apart from giving me much pleasure, provided the basic ethnographical data for this article. I am also grateful to dear "Jimakos" and "Vasilakis" for their last comments. And I owe a debt of gratitude to my good friends from the field, the inhabitants of my beloved villages in the Pindus mountains (and in Crete) for their numerous interviews, songs and dances that they offered to me, and for the opportunity to communicate with them and share my own life with theirs. May we meet together again…[19]

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[19] Translated by Jose Fischer Rodriges and Caroline Makropoulos.

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CULTURAL CONCEPTIONS OF OLD AGE IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

TÜNDE TURAI

ABSTRACT

The life-course is considered by the author as a cultural scenario, which contains the most important borderlines signalling the passages. The notions demographic elderly and social elderly seems to be insufficient to present and explain the complexity of the *old age*, reason why the notions *cultural ageing* and *culturally elderly* are applied in this paper. The threshold of old age cannot be defined by only one, especially by one artificially fixed principle – like demographers and sociologists do. The principles that divide the life stages seem to be culturally coded. The passage from adulthood to old age is not easy to set because of the lack of a clear, performed event. This passage is rather gradual, invisible, latent, long and sophisticated process. The principles by the help of which the investigated community forms the complex matrix of this threshold are: health state, esthetical signs, changes in the carried out work, change of the family status (grandparent, widow), life-stage characteristics of the economic situation, generational age context, location change, and the representation of an earlier world.

Keywords: Elderly, Ageing, Life-Course, Cultural Construction.

Although the meaning of the words "elderly" and "old" is apparently clear and unambiguous, my argument is that this presumed consensus is not unequivocal. Differences, nuances, changes and ambiguities must be taken into account. Everyday discourse, the quotidian habit of labelling people and placing them in well-defined categories, conceals the very sophisticated mechanisms at work in the background. In this article I focus on the complex phenomenon of old age as a life stage category. My intention is to identify conceptions of old age; to examine their sufficiency and limits; then to suggest another, more sophisticated, more profound approach and to demonstrate how it can be applied in a particular community.

Old age is perceived is different ways, in scholarly and in the public discourses, but none of them is able to embrace the complexity of this life stage. Most of them stress merely one aspect at the expense of others. Such a

simplification leads to limited conclusions, but it is insufficient to provide a proper understanding of old age.

Remaining within the field of social sciences, I refer to this branch's three most important conceptions of old age. I do not go into detail regarding so-called psychosomatic ageing, as this topic belongs rather to gerontology and geriatrics and is far from my approach.

The point of departure for the *demographic category of the elderly* is the assumption that a life span can be divided into concrete age groups. This concept is used by demographers and sociologists. Regardless of the popularity of this approach some experts have proposed a more flexible methodology. Recognising that old age cannot be identified merely by a single and abstract number, the use of different age demarcations has recently gained ground: while the beginning of ageing was previously inextricably tied to the completion of a person's 60th year, in the 2000s the threshold rose by five years. In the very near future, it seems that reaching 70 years of age will be considered as the threshold.

The *social category of the elderly* was introduced by Zsuzsa Széman in order to achieve a more nuanced approach (Széman 2007: 19-34; Széman and Harsányi 2008: 57-70). According to this theory, retirement marks the beginning of old age. The advantage of this concept is that the threshold is attached to a social process: the end of a person's active life and the beginning of the inactive period. However, its limitation is that the transition is identified on the basis of a formal, institutionalised, impersonal and simplified factor, fixed by the macro-system. While the concept may be more sensitive to the dynamism of social changes, it still is unable to reflect shifts between the micro, mezzo and macro levels, nor does it apply to the population as a whole (i.e. it is harder to apply in the case of unemployed and disabled people or homemakers).

I do not find either of these categories convincing. In terms of providing an understanding of the elderly, they seem to be insufficient from two points of view. First, I argue that focusing on only one aspect of a very complex process is too narrow an approach. Moreover, neither the division of a lifetime into well-defined parts, nor the existence of borderlines between them, can be regarded as a given. Both are the outcome of cultural and historical processes, as demonstrated by anthropologists in the course of varied fieldwork carried out in very different communities (see, for example: *L'Homme* 2003). Historians (Laslett 1989) and demographers (Bourdelais 1993) have also taken a keen interest in this subject when looking at old age, especially its lower threshold. In this connection, I would like to mention the work of Patrice Bourdelais, who analysed the considerations according to which old age has been separated from other life stages, as well as representations of old age since the seventeenth century. He also examined the ways in which these conceptions have changed over time. Peter Laslett has also carried out pioneering research on the emergence of old age, although his approach was particularly oriented in a direction popular among sociologists since the 1990s:

namely, the stigmas associated with ageing (Laslett 1989: 96-106). He also dealt with the image of the elderly in belles-lettres (Laslett 1989: 134-138). The work of Pascal Pochet goes hand in hand with the former approach, although he interpreted representations of the elderly within a broader spectrum, taking twentieth-century France as his example (Pochet 1997: 5-18). Anne-Marie Guillemard focuses on retirement, which is scarcely less complicated than old age: while its beginning is apparently more clearly marked, it is constructed in a far more elaborate way, its codification is subject to more frequent changes, and its role is thus less generally accepted (Guillemard 1972). Ideas about the body have also introduced a new perspective into discussions on the subject. The theoretical framework of Featherstone, Hepworth and Wernick emphasised that the redefinition and revaluing of the body overwrites and reshapes earlier concepts of ageing (Featherstone and Hepworth 1997: 126-150; Featherstone and Wernick 1995: 1-15). The volume edited by Featherstone and Wernick centres on this issue, and it also includes papers on different social and cultural constructions and narratives of old age (Featherstone & Wernick 1995).

In post-socialist Eastern Europe, research into the complexities of defining old age has received very little attention. With regard to Romania, I can mention only Daniela Gîrleanu-Şoitu, who dealt with the structure of the life span in the Moldovan town of Iaşi and its surroundings. The main problems identified in her work are related to my interests, but the methodology and results are different: Daniela Gîrleanu-Şoitu bases her research on surveys and interviews, thus aspects that can be revealed through observation in the field remain outside her scope (Gîrleanu-Şoitu 2006). Lucie Vidovićová's work is very similar, in that she analyses the construction of old age in Czech society based on the results of a survey analysis (Vidovićová 2003). I should also mention here Urszula Lehr, who conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the rural regions of Poland and who also carried out archival research, basing her approach on the historical, folkloristic and social aspects of the cultural meanings of old age (Lehr 2007).

In the present paper, I aim to contribute to exploration of the concept of the *cultural category of the elderly.* Key to this concept is the idea that a life span is a culturally based scenario containing the main lines that demarcate the transitions (Mandelbaum 1982: 34; Niedermüller 1988: 379): that is, the principles according to which someone is classified as old (or not old) are culturally encoded. The borderlines comprise a complex matrix of events, not a single fact such as retirement or a particular birthday. The transition between adulthood and old age is not easy to perceive, because it is not related to a particular event. There is no rite of passage (Gennep 1969) – in contrast to the above-presented social and demographic view of ageing. Advances in the course of life depend on various conditions. Many factors have a role to play in forming the cultural context that interacts with personal perceptions, resulting in a more flexible category of old age.

In order to illustrate the theory briefly presented here, I draw on the results of fieldwork carried out in the Romanian village of Tölgyes[1] (Sălaj county), where I conducted ethnographical research between 2000 and 2007. I focused on in-depth interviews and participant observation. The long-term work ended in a PhD dissertation. The above analysis is part of this broader work.

CHANGES TO THE BODY

Bodily aspects have an immense impact on the structure of life stages. Apparently unequivocal, this statement conceals a great many potential ambiguities that need to be clarified. On the one hand, it is important to mention the discrepancy between body and identity. Featherstone and Hepworth use the metaphor of the *mask* in order to express the tendency among the elderly to conceal as a result of this discrepancy: negative reactions arouse fear in the elderly, causing them to hide their feelings and opinions. The shift between stereotypes based on outward appearance and inner identity, or subjective ego, is expressively evoked by the authors (Featherstone and Hepworth 1997: 134-142). Featherstone and Wernick propose a different metaphor – that of the *prison* – to help express the limitations and restrictions of a body that does not correspond to the leanings of the inner ego (Featherstone and Wernick 1995: 10-12; Wahidin and Tate 2005: 59-79).[2] On the other hand, the biological and cultural complexity surrounding the body needs to be emphasised. Many scholars have focused on this topic and a huge debate has taken place. In my paper, I do not align myself with either side of the debate: I prefer to underline that the biological body and the cultural body are inseparable. These aspects of the same phenomenon have a fundamental impact on one another, as I will demonstrate in my analysis.

THE MEDICALISED BODY

Medical control over the body, and the medical terminology applied to describe bodily events, have led to the medicalisation of the meanings of the body. This process received attention from social scientists in the 1950s. Talcott Parsons analysed the way in which changes in the body identified as illnesses resulted in new, deviant categories; and explored the kind of (structured and institutionalised) social roles fulfilled by the sick person (Parsons 1999[1951]: 101-108; 1999[1960]: 109-122). Michel Foucault dealt with the spread of medical institutions and its effect. His theory is based on two core points: on the one hand, he explored the birth of the clinical remedy with changed medical attitudes; on the other hand,

[1] Out of respect for the community and my interviewees, I use only fictional names both for the village itself and its residents.

[2] Wahidin and Tate's analysis (2005: 59-79) applies specifically to elderly women.

he emphasised the control exercised by the medical institution over the body and its consequences (Foucault 2000[1955]: 91-321). Irving Kenneth Zola focuses on the medicalisation of society: doctors are increasingly called on to explain and treat personal and social problems; more and more aspects of quotidian life are related to health; and personal (moral) responsibility is identified with concepts of illness and health protection (Zola 1972: 487-504). Freidson argued that the sick person and illness have become a form of social deviancy; that illness is a social state; and that the meaning of illness is a social construction (Freidson 1960, 1970, 1984). In the 1990s, three topics dominated the discourse: analysis of the forms of social control and its importance gained ground; the impacts of market logic and commercialisation preoccupied scholars; and rapid technological developments, especially in the field of biomedicine, came to the fore through their fundamental effects on longevity and ageing.

Old age is, of course, given its own emphasis in analyses focusing on medicalisation. Scholars argue that old age became a pathological state during the last century, resulting in its being considered as deviant, as something to be taken under medical control, and as requiring a medical cure (Myles 1978: 508-521; Azzarto 1986: 189-195 and 1993: 40-48; Estes and Binney 1989: 587-596; Binney, Estes and Ingman 1990: 761-771; Tancredi and Romanucci-Ross 1991: 407-420; Mykytyn 2006: 5-31).

The interpretation of old age in the village of Tölgyes is strongly related to the above-mentioned paradigm. I argue that in the studied community the most important element in the transition from adulthood to old age is the medicalised body, according to the local mentality. Although sickness may appear at any time in a person's life, it is still regarded as an attribute of old age. With the exception of certain illnesses (particularly childhood diseases), sickness is the most important forerunner of ageing.

"– When does old age begin in your opinion?
– I don't know, I'm still not old, but I already have the signs.
– What kind of signs?
– I have pain in my knees".

Bodily changes become tasks for the health system: they are interpreted as being in some way abnormal and as needing to be put under medical control. Experiencing that illness most frequently occurs in old age, and that longevity has increased due to the development of medicines, has had a negative effect on the conceptualisation of old age. It has come to be interpreted as a pathological state, a chain of illness, weakness and dysfunction that can be ameliorated with the help of medicines and treatments. The association between old age and illness is so strong that it essentially determines the concept of ageing. Old age is defined according to health anomalies, and the ageing process is narrated as a series of illnesses using medical terminology.

> "Sure, I am already old... My right hand was fractured last year. I have no pain where the fracture was, but I can hardly bear the aching in my legs and shoulders. My vertebrae are out of line. They took some X-rays and I've already been treated, but the doctor told me: *Auntie Szabó, your bones have already deteriorated. Hard work takes its toll on the body*".

It is important to emphasise that, even though ageing is a complex process, the social and intellectual elements of it are neglected. These latter have merely secondary relevance, subordinated to the biological body and its medicalised aspects. Sickness is unambiguously codified in old age: non-biological events are directly related to it even if there is no logical connection.

> "In my experience, or at least it's the case among those close to me, when the first pension is drawn the first serious health problems appear: the first is always accompanied by the second".

It seems clear that in Tölgyes, illness is not simply a concomitant phenomenon in the concept of ageing. It is not merely a transitional element that may or may not accompany old age, nor is it simply one among several other components: it is the essence of old age itself, the core element. This extension of the meaning of illness has resulted in the medicalisation of the entire ageing process, which is regarded as a long, incurable illness.

> "Ageing is a process that cannot be stopped, only delayed. I mean with medicines. But it is quite an ugly illness because you never get well".

In this connection it is appropriate to mention one important physiological event – the menopause – which is potentially linked to the meaning of old age.[3] The transition from fertility to barrenness may represent a border between adulthood and old age, but it does not become an automatic line of demarcation. First, its connection to old age is ambivalent: there is no consensus as to its role as a dividing line. It may take place at an earlier age, when other life stage attributes identify a person as adult; while after menopause, women may still be in good physical condition for many years and able to fulfil all those tasks that belong to adulthood. Second, the menopause is not a publicly recognised event: it belongs to a person's intimate life thus cannot be used to categorise different generations. Third, in Tölgyes the menopause is not accompanied by rituals. Women's relationship with the transcendent does not change after the menopause, nor is there any change to their spiritual activities.[4] In conclusion, I argue that, while its

[3] A brilliant anthropological analysis of the medicalisation of the menopause has been written by Dona L. Davis (Davis 1997: 3-20).

[4] Vilmos Keszeg's fieldwork, conducted in the Transylvanian Plains, illustrates that there is a difference in women's religious activities during their fertile and non-fertile periods: the *clean* life stage makes a woman suitable to carry out some very important rituals for the community. Examples include acting as a midwife, carrying out divining rituals, and being a lay religious leader (Keszeg 1999: 259-265).

importance cannot be neglected due to the impact it may have on identity, the menopause cannot be considered as an essential categorising feature and is of less relevance than other changes in the body.

THE AESTHETICISATION OF THE BODY

Outward appearance plays a far smaller role in the identification of old age, even though this is the most visible aspect and is far more easy to perceive than a person's inner state. In this rural community, dominated by a peasant mentality, outward appearance is not regarded as a representation of the personality: the community has been only slightly affected by the modern, commercial tendency to emphasise the aesthetics of the body (Verebélyi 2005: 73-79). In order to avoid misunderstanding I should point out that beauty and outward appearance are valued in Tölgyes, but that their value is not overestimated. An attractive appearance has always been valued in peasant culture, of course, but it is important to stress that physical beauty is traditionally no more appreciated than moral value. In conclusion, I argue that in Tölgyes the body is not aestheticised.

The relationship between life stages and beauty is not a balanced one: beauty is mostly connected with youth, which explains the negligible relevance of outward appearance among the elderly (from the perspective of the self). It also points to one of the principles that negatively influence the meanings of old age (from the perspective of others).

There is, naturally, a difference between genders, too. As this is a commonplace, I do not intend to dwell on it in detail: I would like only briefly to discuss an area of ambivalence. In the formation of identity, aesthetic aspects are of greater relevance to women than to men. However, in terms of how others are perceived, the relevance of the aesthetic viewpoint differs. Even though women are more sensitive to aesthetics, they are more tolerant with respect to others, especially elderly women. Men are tolerant only with respect to men: they have a greater tendency to stigmatise women, and primarily elderly women, in terms of aesthetics.

In terms of differences between generations, the influence of pervading Western body ideals is clear. While the elderly are aware of aesthetic changes, they lay store by them only as visual signs of decline. Grey hair, wrinkles and the loss of teeth are inevitable aspects of ageing and have an impact on forming the *threshold* of the life stage of old age. The difference between generations does not lie in whether or not these are seen as signs of transition: it is the additional meanings that are relevant here. For the young, and primarily for young women, the loss of beauty implies emotional problems: ugliness is considered as loss, failure and decline. Such attitudes are not projected onto the elderly themselves: as I have already mentioned, young women do not stigmatise the older generation because of their aesthetic *handicap*. The problem lies in the fact that their fear of losing

recognised aesthetic values is mirrored by the elderly: these fears are localised in the older generation, who represent the inevitability of decline. Ambivalently, this fear does not result in negative stigmas, but rather in sadness and regret expressed in relation to old age.

> "– How do you imagine yourself as an old person? What do you think you will be like?
> – I don't know. Ugly, for sure. I don't dare think about it. Sometimes it occurs to me that my arms and flesh will sag. I don't want to be old. I've always though it's enough to live until 60, but after that I'll be very ugly".

CHANGES IN THE RANGE OF WORK ACTIVITIES

In peasant society, the body is an instrument of work. Physical decline and the weakening of the body are therefore interpreted from the point of view of working capacity (Verebélyi 2005: 73-75). Ethnographical literature (Hamar 1982: 664; Szabó 1997: 24; Fél and Hofer 1997: 146-150) defines the ageing process not in relation to age but in terms of work. The Hungarian scholar László Szabó argues that the traditional work structure defines age according to the tasks fulfilled: members of society are classified as child, young, adult or old according to their ability or inability to accomplish their duties (Szabó 1997: 24). Indeed, the labour undertaken and the capacity to carry out tasks play a major role in the classification of the age ladder. Physical strength is seen not in its own right but as capacity for work, thus the relationship between the body and work activity is an important principle in defining the transition from adulthood to old age.

> "When is somebody considered to be old? When (s)he cannot work and move around as much. At around 60 (s)he will be old". "Ageing is imposed by life, it's a matter of the way you live. I'm speaking about myself: for me, old age began just after 70. Until 70 I could work, I had good working stamina. After 70 I began to weaken: now I can't continue working, I can't work as I could before".

There are two consequences of the decline in working capacity: on the one hand, the amount of work done decreases; on the other, the range of work activities changes. The basic attitude is not to give up work completely but to participate to some extent in work activities while one is still capable of doing something. It is rare for someone to give up carrying out their tasks before they become helpless. In peasant society, the moral value of work motivates people to continue working until the end of their lives.

The most important among the changes in range of activity among the elderly is having to give up work on the fields. Those who are able to – that is, those who have children living in the same village or nearby – can pass some or all of their

land on to members of their family. Those whose family members are unable to take over their agricultural tasks due to distance or other reasons must go on working, although less intensely and less efficiently, or must pay someone to help them, depending on their financial capacities. In general, once they have reached 75 to 80 years of age, the elderly give up working on the land even in cases where the traditional work ethic and the significance of heritage are of particular importance.

Housework and vegetable gardening are generally not abandoned until a person's health declines to such an extent that they become bedridden. Tasks are reduced step by step: first a person may give up keeping cows and horses; then they give up pig keeping; then they reduce the amount of garden that is cultivated; and finally they cut down on housework. They accept more and more help as their own capacity for work diminishes.

Changing their range of work activities also implies taking up new activities. As tasks are given up and they have more and more time on their hands, they reconsider their opportunities. In general, activities enjoyed earlier are taken up once again (e.g. embroidery, crosswords). Earlier ambitions can be realised, such as writing poetry or singing in a choir. New interests can also be taken up (religious activities, social duties).

Discussion of retirement is of relevance here. In the concept of social ageing, retirement is regarded as the borderline between adulthood and old age. In socio-economic terms, it implies the ending of an activity carried out over several decades, and the beginning of a new period with new duties. Although important in this sense, it cannot be regarded as a clear line of demarcation, nor can it be seen as a general borderline between two life stages. First, there are many people in Tölgyes who were never part of the labour market, many who didn't have institutional work, and many who lost their jobs before they reached retirement age. For these people, retirement has no influence on their life course. Second, the majority of the elderly are farmers employed by a collective farm, and they continued to do the same work after retiring. For this very numerous group, the formal event of retirement had no effect on their activities. Third, in the same way retirement does not imply a transition from an active to an inactive life for intellectuals, administrative workers or labourers, but rather a change in the range of work activity. Fourth, this socio-economic event does not necessarily coincide with other signs of the transition, especially following the introduction of various forms of early retirement in the 1990s.

It is clear that retirement does not represent such a strong dividing role between life stages as suggested by certain scholars. It is merely one of the elements that make up the *threshold*. It cannot be ignored, but nor should it be overestimated. In the studied community it is rather a point of reference for the younger generation than for the elderly.

CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE

The "empty nest" is an indication of the approaching end of adulthood. This is a relatively new phenomenon: today's elderly tend to come from big families with more children, where the presence of children and parental duties covered a longer period of time. However, they themselves changed this family model, preferring to have only two or three children and thus facing the empty nest syndrome earlier in their lives. They find themselves free of their children relatively early, well before other elements of the transition are apparent, thus it is an important but relatively less influential element in the formation of the *threshold,* in this complex matrix of the transition.

THE STATUS OF GRANDPARENTHOOD

The fact of becoming a grandparent implies that a person has moved to another domestic and social position. The transition from parenthood to grandparenthood is an important element in the shift in generation, even if the first grandchildren are generally born when the grandparent is still considered as being a member of the second generation. The end of parental duties and the beginning of new activity makes an impact, and lineal descent has a major influence on life cycle status. The change to the *child–parent–grandparent* paradigm takes place stereotypically in parallel with the *child–adult–elderly* paradigm. This association between grandparenthood and old age is mirrored and emphasised in the Hungarian terms by which children address their grandparents (*mama, papa*), as almost similar words are also used for old people, regardless of whether or not they have grandchildren (*öregmama*). Beyond these structural aspects there is another essential tie between this life stage and status: almost all elderly people mentioned their grandchildren as the most positive thing about their old age.

WIDOWHOOD

While widowhood does not depend on age and is completely independent of the life course, it is nevertheless most usual to experience the loss of a spouse in old age. As the majority of widows and widowers are members of the third generation, the relatively strong associative link between these states is thus not surprising. This is a factor that can bring an individual very close to the elderly as a group, and all the more so if that individual is already close to the transition. This tendency is also backed up by the mechanisms of the social network: the similar strategies adopted by widows/widowers to cope with similar problems bring them into association with other widows and widowers.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF AGEING

While members of the group of elderly come from a variety of backgrounds in terms of material conditions, there are three factors common to all of them that have a homogenising effect on the group. First, it is important to mention the structure of employment. The majority of the elderly were engaged in agriculture throughout their lives. A variety of professions only appear among the younger elderly. However, after leaving the labour market almost everyone is engaged in farming regardless of their previous occupation. Second, receipt of a pension as a new source of income has a homogenising effect. Although retirement is not strongly connected to the transition, the pension as a new source of income does categorise a person as being old: in contrast with every other income, a pension is a fixed monthly sum received without any effort. Third, a decrease in material assets is characteristic of this group, although. I do not want to create the false impression that all members of this group are poor. The group comprises people of very different material backgrounds and they are not necessarily the poorest group in the village. However, I do want to stress some characteristic features of the elderly: due to the process of ageing and the reduction in activity, their income decreases. Pensions, and mainly the farmers' pensions, are very small; even relatively well off home and land owners have very limited access to cash.

THE INFLUENCE ON INDIVIDUAL AGE OF AGE IN THE FRAMING MILIEU

The age of the individual – in spite of the abstract nature of the number – has a kind of relativity in the sense that it incorporates a certain flexibility into the socio-cognitive context. In the same way that other principles have an effect on the meanings attached to age and shift a person down or up the age ladder, the age of those surrounding a person also position him or her independently of their individual features and status. Having a younger or older spouse, and that person's state of health and socio-economic activities, have a bearing on the way an individual is seen. The age of a person's children and grandchildren has the same bearing. The younger the child is, the *younger* the parent is seen to be. The older the grandchild, the *older* the grandparent appears. The most important factor in this mechanism is the vertical structure: that is, the existence or lack of ascendants positions a person on the generation line. In the absence of an earlier generation, an individual is placed in the position of the oldest in the family, which has a significant impact on the interpretation of his or her status.

CHANGE IN DWELLING PLACE

A change in dwelling place may take place on two occasions during old age. The marriage of a child may lead to a change in the parents' home. If the child does

not leave the family home when he or she marries, but instead establishes a new family within it, the house must be adapted to the new situation – that is, it must be made into a comfortable place for two family nuclei. In general, the young couple is given the more presentable part of the house, meaning the large rooms facing the street. This implies that the parents are moved out of their habitual surroundings to the back of the house or into a separate small building, comprising one room and a kitchen. The strategy undoubtedly mirrors the actual hierarchy between the generations. Some decades ago the hierarchy appeared somewhat different. When the current elderly generation founded their own families, if they remained with their parents they were given the back of the house or a separate small building and were only able to move into the main part of the house following the parents' death. In some exceptional cases they were given access to the bigger rooms if they had more than three children. Today, the elderly are once again occupying the less valuable part of the house because they automatically give up the better rooms to the young couple.

Elderly people who have no family nearby face a more drastic change. Gradual decline, loss of independence and an increasing need to be cared for inevitably result in a parent moving in with one of their children.

REPRESENTATION OF THE OLD TIMES

It is also important to discuss changes in a person's surroundings, not merely the changes in the individuals themselves. The world changes around us, and while individuals preserve the core elements of their lives, their mentality, values, objects and customs belong to another world and their experiences and stories are rooted in earlier times. Changes have not taken place in or to them; it is simply that the new generation has a new mentality, life style and attitudes. A chain of modifications fragments continuity, and elderly people become old-fashioned, relics of the olden days.

CLOSING REMARKS

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that the elderly do not form a homogeneous category: as a group, the older generation does not comprise identical elements. There are internal transitions into this life stage, too, according to a person's individual rhythm. First, the intensity and speed with which the presented tendencies occur fragment old age into sub-categories. Second, the existence of multiple principles has the effect of shifting a person's position on the generally accepted age ladder. The studied community tends to use two terms to express the heterogeneity of the group of the elderly: the word *idős* (elderly) applies to those in the first stage of the ageing process; while the word *öreg* (old) is used for those at a more advanced stage. It is also important to mention that, rather

than these two expressions, a greater number of phases are differentiated using a very nuanced and sophisticated approach. A person's individual rhythm and capacities are taken into account when labelling according to generation categories.

> "In my view there are more phases. First, I see two or three grandmothers bringing children to the kindergarten and taking them home at noon. This must be the beginning – but it is still not really old age: they must have retired early on health grounds, so they are still active. Then there is the stage when a person can still take care of him or herself, and can perhaps still help with the children, too. And then, after this must come decent death, in my opinion, when a person can still look after him or herself".

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CLEANLINESS AND PERSONAL HYGIENE IN HUNGARIAN VILLAGES FROM THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

KATALIN JUHÁSZ

ABSTRACT

Ethnographers tend to neglect the study of simple, stereotypical acts of everyday life, such as the act of washing oneself. In the broad sense we understand by the term of *washing (oneself)* not only the gestures necessary to clean the body or parts of it from any material dirt or filth but also the acts which satisfy the social demands linked to proper cleaning. Hence *washing* can assume magical connotations as well. In pre-modern societies the ritual of washing took place in the community, in accordance with its norms. Quite a few procedures aimed at healing and/or protecting the body or the soul from bewitching or witchcraft are based on the real, imaginary, or mythical virtues of water. There are also such rites linked to transition (birth, initiation, wedding, death etc.) as well as cathartic rites that can renew or ensure health and beauty at some well defined day or period of the year (mainly in springtime). Wide-ranging research has shown that cleanliness is both a social and a historical construction, that is, a relative rather than an absolute concept. The rather complex psychological and social causes of *washing* change with time and space. The social change characterized by modernization and urbanization in the first half of the 20th century had a profound effect on the mentality, way of life and social behaviour of Hungarian peasantry. This change in turn completely modified the meaning of washing and the related customs. With the advent of modernity, washing and bodily hygiene became individualised. Thus the individual freely decides where to belong to and creates his or her appearance according to the demands of the community. Washing is not a simple elimination of dirt, but a *rite de passage.* With its additional activities it aims to achieve an ideal, clean and perfect outlook, intended to conform to the liking of the community. Purity indicates to the outside world that the given person is a full member of the community. The aim of the present essay is to analyse the customs related to washing and bathing and their modification triggered by social change. It contains a brief clarification of the terms "cleanliness" and "hygiene", a short historical review of Hungarian and international research and a short history of *washing* as a universal custom, and an overall picture of the major stages in the change in village habits of cleanliness.

Keywords: Hygiene, Cleanliness, Washing, Folk Society, Traditional Culture, Hungarian Village.

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In the social sciences, and therefore also in folk tradition research, the interpretation of the quotidian as an academic problem was the starting point of research into everyday forms of relationships and behaviour, as well as into the attitudes and value systems that control activities.[1] In the latest volume of *Hungarian Ethnography* (Volume VIII, "Society"), an entire chapter is devoted to the behavioural rules of peasant life according to occasion, location, age group and gender (Jávor 2000), while several other chapters refer to the regular activities of everyday life[2]. However, the material world of body culture, personal hygiene and cleanliness habits is seldom discussed in individual publications[3], and, barring the occasional reference[4], is entirely absent from the collected studies in *Hungarian Ethnography*.[5]

Although the sociological and anthropological literature[6] on the history of body culture and bathing[7], and works focusing on the body and cleanliness, provide appropriate background material for research into the cleanliness habits of the Hungarian peasantry, it was my task to work out a detailed methodology for the actual fieldwork. From the very beginning, I tried to obtain data using a cognitive method, endeavouring to place the gathered data in a hypothetical system (to be mapped out), also asking the question "why".[8]

For example, the way in which the concepts of "dirty" and "clean" define the borders between particular social strata has been clearly outlined, on the basis of the system, method and aspirations of personal hygiene and care for the body. These dividing lines are immediately apparent to anyone on first meeting someone more unkempt or better groomed than themselves. In the study below, following a brief clarification of the terms "cleanliness" and "hygiene", I summarise the major stages in the change in village habits of cleanliness.

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[1] Verebélyi 1988: 403-404, 428-429, 430-439; 2005a: 27-29; 2005b.

[2] For example Paládi Kovács 2000: 130-131, 150-155, 283-289, 352-358.

[3] Szenti 1985 and 1991; Fábián 1999; Herczeg 1991; Kapczár 1978; Madar 1993; Gergely 1978.

[4] In the chapter "Hungarian peasant morals and attitudes", communal cleanliness and personal hygiene expectations are mentioned in the context of behavioural patterns among girls, women and the elderly (Jávor 2000: 612-614, 632-635, 623).

[5] Certain monographs on costume (e.g. Fülemüle and Stefány 1989; Fél 1942), collected studies in social and cultural history (Hanák 1988; Vörös 1980; Gyáni and Kövér 1998; Siklóssy 1922a–b and 1923), public health reports and educational publications, as well as sociographical literature from between the two world wars include further data (see Juhász 2006a: 18-21).

[6] For example Douglas 1994 and 1998; Mauss 2000: 425-448; Loux 1979; Featherston, Hepworth and Turner 1997; *Fataburen* 1970.

[7] For example Corson 1972; Vigarello 1978; Prevenier 1998; Kiby 1995; Baulant 1990.

[8] The author of the present essay has been studying the question of „washing" since 1989 and has published several studies on specific aspects since 1991, when she wrote her PhD thesis *Popular Customs of Washing in the First Half of the 20th Century.* One book (*Have a wash*, 2006), numerous articles, and an exhibition at the Hungarian Open-Air Ethnographical Museum are the result of long years of fieldwork, in the course of which the author carried out surveys among the inhabitants of various localities belonging to Hungarian-speaking territories. She also organised an interdisciplinary conference on the topic of cleanliness, washing and bathing customs and edited a volume of the presented papers (*Pure Lines – Essays on the Concept of Cleanliness and Cleaning*, 2009). The most important publications can be found in the bibliography.

THE CONCEPT OF CLEANLINESS AND HYGIENE

Wide-ranging research has shown that cleanliness is both a social and a historical construction, that is, a relative rather than an absolute concept.

In the broad sense, the term "cleansing" can be understood not only as the actions necessary to clean the body, or parts of it, from material dirt but also those actions that satisfy the social demands connected to acceptable cleanliness. Hence "cleansing" can assume magical/spiritual connotations. In pre-modern societies, the ritual of cleansing took place within the community, in accordance with the community's norms.

The "clean/dirty (filthy, unclean, impure)" dichotomy can also be interpreted from a moral point of view, and further pairings might be added, such as tidy/untidy, beautiful/ugly, healthy/sick, harmless/harmful.

Various procedures aimed at healing and/or protecting the body or soul from enchantment or witchcraft are based on the real, imaginary or mythical properties of water. There are also rites connected to moments of transition (birth, initiation, marriage, death etc.), as well as cathartic rites to renew or safeguard health and beauty, which take place on a particular day or in a specific season (mainly springtime).[9] Daily washing habits and rituals, and magic forms of washing/bathing belong to a well-defined, comprehensive system[10] (see Table). Every act of washing, bathing or rinsing signals the intention to get rid of something undesired, that is, to prevent or ward off physical dirt, moral impurity or a magic spell. When washing and cleansing are considered as complex healing and preventive activities, with a combination of the four counter-terms depicted in the system illustrated below, every human practice developed around washing and cleaning can be described. This system represents the theoretical background of sayings such as "Cleanliness is next to godliness".

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

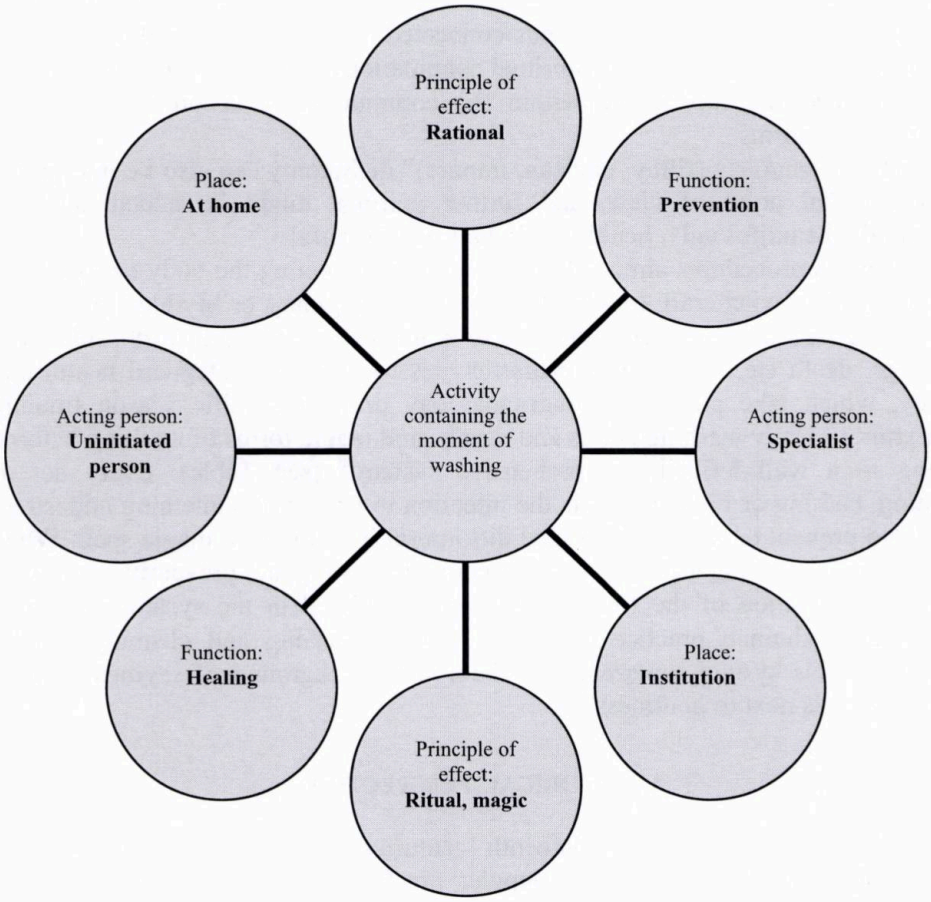
In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, people throughout Western Europe abandoned the previously popular practice of visiting steam baths and public baths and began to drink spa water as a cure rather than bathe in it. This was because, in the wake of the great pandemics, doctors believed that diseases entered the body in water through the pores, which open when bathing. Thus, from the end of the sixteenth century, people did not wash at all, attempting instead to conceal unpleasant odours by using strong scents and perfumes. Among the nobility, cleanliness was represented by wearing elaborately designed, fine white collars and cuffs. From among the earlier functions of the bathhouse (cleansing, relaxation,

[9] For a more detailed explanation of these concepts, see Juhász 2006a: 11-15 and the whole 2nd part of the book.

[10] Juhász 2002; Juhász 2006a: 14; Juhász 2008b.

healing, socialising and sexual services), only the brothel function remained, thus these institutions came to be considered as immoral and as hotbeds of contagious diseases such as the plague and syphilis.[11]

TABLE



During this period, the central part of Hungary was occupied by the Turks and remained so for 150 years. Based on the findings of the great historian Balázs Sudár, during this time the Turks operated 75 baths, several open-air bathing places, and a few household, stove-heated baths on the occupied territories.[12] This raises the

[11] Braudel 1985: 330-334; Vigarello 1988: 23-77; Corson 1972: 99-152; Kósa 1999: 9; Siklóssy 1922b: 29-38; Várkonyi 1993.

[12] Sudár 2003: 213-263. From among the Turkish bathhouses, 18 buildings survive. The domed pools of some, like the Rudas, Király, Rác and Lukács baths in Buda, or the baths in Eger, are still in use today.

question as to whether the Turkish bathing culture influenced Hungarian customs. Did the Hungarians use the baths built by the Turks?

There is no simple answer. We do know that hot-water open-air baths were continuously used by Hungarians on the occupied territories. According to written sources from the period, in the area of Hungary that remained free, resembling on the map a narrow collar, bathing culture flourished at an everyday level, but unfortunately no Hungarian bathhouses from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries or earlier survived the damage incurred in various wars.[13]

Most of the seventeenth-century sources refer to washing as something belonging strictly to the sphere of everyday life. This is proved by sources describing the bathhouses belonging to the large residences of noblemen of the time, and in accounts, registers and inventories that contain washbasins, bathtubs, hand towels, bath towels and bath sponges as recurrent items.[14] According to Péter Apor, the Transylvanian nobleman of the seventeenth century did not neglect to wash even when travelling in his carriage: the servant travelling with him "*had to carry the master's gilt bowl, face wipe and comb in a leather bag hanging from his neck, just like a gunpowder pouch.*"[15] The bathhouses in the castles of Hungarian noblemen could be used by their servants as well, as we can read in the diary of László Rákóczi: "*After dinner I went to the bathhouse, and having taken my bath, I made my servants have a bath as well.*"[16] A bathing servant employed in one of the Batthyány castles was regularly visited by local peasants. A document from the Nádasdy court from 1653 records that farmhands received 16 denarii for *washing hair*.[17]

Interestingly, the sources also refer to contemporary Western European concepts of cleanliness. Certain almanacs advised people not to bathe at all. The 1582 Galgóc almanac advised: "Desist from bathing and from sleeping with your husband or wife." The 1619 Debrecen almanac warned: "Having a bath or being bled does you no good: keep away from them."[18] According to some memoirs and diaries, washing and bathing was almost completely abandoned: "I rarely had a bath, especially in cold water (…) I washed my feet every two weeks, sometimes weekly (…) I always rinsed my mouth in the morning, after dinner and supper, I also gently washed my eyes in cold water, I often washed my hands, although I never washed my cheeks unless there was some dust, mud, dirt or weed on them (…), but the barber shaved my beard every week (…). It may be nearly 25 years that I have not washed my hair" (memoirs of Transylvanian Chancellor Miklós Bethlen, at around 1710[19]).

[13] Várkonyi 1993 and 2009.
[14] Radvánszky 1895, I: 37-38.
[15] Apor 1978: 86.
[16] Horn 1990: 99.
[17] Tóth 1998: 175, 201.
[18] RMKT XVII/8, no. 174.
[19] Quoted by Várkonyi 1993: 105.

From the eighteenth century, and promoted by the middle class, a new concept of cleanliness appeared in Europe. Just as before, the cleanliness of underwear was also important, but now water, and especially cold water, acquired a new role in cleansing, strengthening and healing. According to clear-skin theories, pores had to stay open and breathe in order to dynamise the body; cold water was good for toughening the muscles.[20] Efforts to be clean were no longer merely for show: cleanliness was important for health, vitality and energy, thus even the unseen parts of the body covered by clothing had to be kept clean. Science and scientific theory also contributed to the transformation of the role of water in this direction from the nineteenth century. With the discovery of microbes arose the concept of "invisible" dirt, and with the appearance of this concept notions of intimacy were formed in parallel, and the place in which cleansing was carried out was gradually separated off.[21] Separate rooms for bathing and physical care first appeared in aristocratic households in the eighteenth century, and the custom soon spread among middle-class families in the nineteenth century. The separation of toilets and bathrooms gradually became a moral necessity, leading to a noticeable transformation in the appearance of the cities as a result of the installation of water pipes and sewers.[22]

Equipment used for cleaning and washing was also developed in keeping with the new demands of hygiene. Whereas previously only the richest noblemen and citizens were able to heat and store water for bathing, get rid of sewage, and purchase and store expensive vessels and other accessories for cleaning that occupied a great deal of space in their homes, under the new circumstances the majority of the population had to be provided with modern and cheap bathing equipment. By the end of the eighteenth century, it had become the norm to have a washstand, ceramic (or occasionally china) washbasin and jug, and a separated washing area in the bedroom or kitchen with a mirror, towel-rack, combs and shaving tackle.[23]

THE CHANGE IN PERSONAL HYGIENE HABITS IN VILLAGES FROM THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

The period from the turn of the twentieth century to the present day can be divided into five parts in terms of the change in personal hygiene habits. Tracing the changes that took place in the course of the century, the most salient fact is that the notion of cleanness and neatness acquired enormous complexity, with the emergence of requirements and specific equipment on the basis of gender, age and parts of the body.

[20] Vigarello 1988: 39-77.
[21] Vigarello 1988: 229-231. See also Kósa 1993: 207-208.
[22] Elias 1987: 754-765; Duerr 1988: 135-176.
[23] Baulant 1990: 220-221.

However, the chronological divisions are blurred, and particular cleanliness patterns cannot be regarded as specific to any one of the five periods. The five models serve only to highlight the main tendencies, illustrating the cleanliness habits of the most populous village strata in the given period.

The infrastructure in rural Hungarian areas was near to basic, which made the first steps towards the modernisation of washing and personal hygiene possible only in the 1960s. Thus in the middle of the twentieth century, and in fact until the 1970s, it was possible to examine the most archaic forms of cleanliness in parallel with the most modern hygienic practices.

1. Archaic peasant hygiene: archaic means and methods of washing among the peasantry[24]

In the traditional vernacular culture, the physical and ritual/magical functions[25] of hygiene were closely connected in several aspects. In the morning, peasants would pray while washing. At home when preparing a bath, at the thermal spa[26] or in a place of pilgrimage[27], washing had a ritual function, mainly related to healing. Illness and abnormal behaviour were considered to be the consequence of a hex, protection against which could be created, for example, by water and coal. Ritual washing and hygiene can also be found among habits and customs connected to rites of passage and seasonal holidays. Ritual-magical cleansing customs are based on the real characteristics of water and on the myths and beliefs that emerge from them. Just as water washes away physical dirt, so symbolically it purifies from sin, illness, hex, impure sexuality and death. Alongside the middle-class bathing culture that developed under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the open baths of the peasantry continued to operate, sometimes in the vicinity of the aristocratic establishments, and mostly used in the same way as has been described in the previous period, primarily for cures.

To the modern mind, the hygiene requirements of the villagers were minimal: that is, to rid themselves of parasites and impurities on the visible surfaces of the body. Smell was not regarded as important, since various odours, such as the smell of the stable, perspiration or other bodily odours, were considered natural.

Homemade soap was used for washing, and on the few occasions when the villagers washed their hair, ash lye was used. A common towel was hung on a nail behind the door.[28] People did not brush their teeth: instead, teeth were cleaned by

[24] Juhász 2006b: 4-7. For further details see Juhász 2003, and for more specific information 1995 and 2006a: 61-205.

[25] See for example Juhász 1994; 2003a; 2004.

[26] Juhász 1998b.

[27] Juhász 1997; 2006c.

[28] About accessories of cleaning see Juhász 2003b.

chewing on resin or by rubbing with charcoal. Brandy was often drunk in the morning, mostly by the men. Fingernails and toenails that did not break off were cut with penknives, or rarely with scissors. The men shaved once a week – on a Saturday – and trimmed their moustache at the same time. No one used body lotions or other toiletries. Dry skin was smeared with fat without salt; and sometimes milk or butter was applied to the face. For baby care, fat without salt was used, and flour, yellow earth or lime from the wall was used as powder.

The most significant feature of archaic peasant hygiene habits is closeness to nature, that is, the exploitation and careful use of natural waters and "eco-friendly" methods.

The most archaic, almost nomadic shepherds did not wash, but instead smeared their hair with grease and wore special trousers, so-called oak trousers, which were impregnated with ewe's milk and ash.

> "Their shirts did not even reach down to their navels: the sun burnt their stomachs and backs as dark as leather in summer; and cold weather, snow and rain scorched their skin. Their wide trousers reached down to the middle of their shins. They made themselves shoes from hides: water ran off them as easily as it ran in. They wore their hair long, tied in several braids and smeared with grease. They soaked their new undergarments in ash mixed with ewe's milk; they polished it with fat bacon to make it shiny black, water resistant and free of vermin. So washing was not a necessity – and who would have washed these clothes anyway? It was not their custom to wash and bathe, nor was it necessary. Their greased undergarments made their skin shiny. And anyway, they were wading through water twenty times a day as they drove their animals. Why should they then take a bath as well? In those days only noblemen indulged in such luxuries! And sometimes not even them!" (From a description by István Győrffy of wild cattle herders in the nineteenth century in the Nagykunság region, 1928).[29]

Even villagers seldom washed in the sense that we understand today. Washing one's hands and face each morning, and making oneself clean before going to Sunday mass had rather a religious, ritual character, as suggested by a well-known children's game[30]: (...) *Have a wash in the golden basin/ Dry yourself with the golden towel/ Comb your hair with the golden comb/ Pray at the golden table...*

Washbasins were mainly made of wood, and occasionally of earthenware. The form of the earthenware washbowls is reminiscent of the later enamelled bowls. One type of wooden utensil was the so-called *gypsy bowl*, which was carved

[29] Győrffy 1928: 21-23.
[30] Quoted by Juhász 2006a: 91.

out of a single piece of wood. This came in several sizes, from small basins to large washtubs. Another type includes circular basins made of staves and hoops; as well as rectangular tubs made of boards. The washtub was not fixed in place and using it was rather complicated, thus for daily washing people used only a small basin, or a small tub for bathing children. Bigger washtubs were used only for washing at the weekends. One towel was used by the whole family and was hung from a nail behind the door. A special technique was used to wash oneself with water spurted from the mouth.

Living conditions and the archaic linen clothing that was difficult to wash made regular and thorough washing neither possible nor necessary. The methods and frequency of washing also depended on the hydrogeological features[31] and season. People crowded into smoky, airless houses in wintertime almost never washed. With the arrival of spring, they washed the dirt of the previous months from their bodies in a nearby river on the first warm day:

> "The shirt woven of good yarn made the skin itchy and the sweat didn't stick to the skin, especially in summer, because the good linen scratched it off. Bathing was not necessary and still the skin of the body was clean. Only the face, hands, head and feet had to be washed. People didn't wash themselves in water poured into an earthenware bowl or washbasin, as is done today. People used to fill their mouths with water, as full as possible, poured from a jar or mug. They dripped the water from their mouths into the hollow of their hands and this was how they washed their hands and faces and necks as well. For this, they normally needed three mouthfuls of water. After this, they dried themselves with the bottom of their wide trouser leg. Women used the bottom of their petticoat for the same purpose" (quotation from the manuscript of Lajos Gyenizse from Kiskunhalas, written at the end of the nineteenth century).[32]

2. Personal hygiene among peasants living at middle-class level (1920-1965)

With the development of medical science throughout Europe, new nationwide public health organizations were established around the turn of the twentieth century. These organizations tried to improve hygienic conditions and habits among the population through regulations and education. Up-to-date information and knowledge was disseminated in an easily accessible form through elementary textbooks, the press, posters and publications.[33] Water supply pipes were installed in big cities as early as the end of the nineteenth century, although it was mostly

[31] Juhász–Szabó 1997.

[32] Quoted by Tálasi 1977: 250-253.

[33] For a detailed description of hygiene regulations and education see Juhász 2006a: 51-56.

the rich upper classes whose bathrooms were supplied with water. The way in which people kept themselves clean was also indicative of their social status: the upper classes applied a detailed set of rules and prescriptions that would have been impossible for the urban working class[34] and rural masses to follow.[35] As a result of public education, the construction of public baths in cities and the gradual improvement of living conditions in working-class district housing, a favourable change began among the lower-middle-class and working-class population from the 1910s, first in Budapest and later in other big cities in Hungary. This progress continued until about the 1970s, by which time most urban residents had suitable living conditions, running water and bathrooms for proper personal hygiene.

Meanwhile, up until the 1960s, and in many places until the 1970s, most of the people living in the countryside[36] had the personal hygiene habits typical of the almost middle-class stratum between the two world wars. A person would be considered to be clean if there were no obvious signs of dirt on them. Thanks to regular medical check-ups, people paid greater attention to keeping their nails, necks and ears clean. Nevertheless, smelling pleasant was still not a basic requirement: excessive perfume was disapproved of among the peasantry.

Daily hygiene meant washing the face and hands in the morning, washing hands before meals and after dirty work, and thorough washing in the evening, including the legs and torso. Washing the whole body was only possible on either Saturday or Sunday, as serious preparations were needed for the heating and carrying of the water. In the 1960s, there were thermal and ordinary baths in several settlements, for use by everyone for their weekend bathing.

Homemade soap was still used for washing, although on festive days – and from the early 1960s on weekdays too – fine soap purchased from a shop was increasingly popular. People would wash their hair once every two or three weeks in the summer until the 1950s, while in the winter the frequency decreased to once every few months. Younger people used shampoo from the 1960s.

Brushing teeth was not part of the daily routine: teeth were cleaned only occasionally, and in several families only one toothbrush was used by all, or members of the family would rub their teeth using salt, baking soda or toothpowder on their finger. It was also common practice for all members of the family to use the same towel; and everyone would bathe in the same water, one after the other.

Men shaved once or twice a week. Besides the old-fashioned cutthroat razors – especially after the war – more modern shaving kits appeared with razor blades.

Basic baby-care products, such as baby soap, powder and cream, were also becoming popular and gaining ground among the peasantry.

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[34] About hygiene of urban workers see Juhász 2007a-b.

[35] Peterdi 2009; Czingel 2009.

[36] On the personal hygiene habits of these people see Juhász 2006a (passim), and also Juhász 2006b: 8-9.

The modernisation of housing, the availability of cheap mass-produced washing and cleaning products, as well as improved water supply during the first half of the twentieth century led to a change in washing practices according to the newly disseminated knowledge. It was observed that, as in other areas such as interior design and clothing, the new accessories related to washing and hygiene that were purchased for peasant homes were often merely acquired for show. The hygiene practices among peasants with urban habits are characterized by a more refined use of equipment and space compared to earlier periods. More and more households acquired metal pails for fetching and storing water, and metal washstands and washbasins were mass produced. The use of soap became general. Homemade towels were replaced by shop-bought versions. A permanent place was set aside for washing in the smoke-free kitchen or another room.

Water was fetched from the well in jugs, pails or buckets and was stored on the so-called water bench in the kitchen. It was ladled out using a smaller mug, which also served as a drinking vessel. Water consumption per family was between 10 and 30 litres, depending on local practice and natural conditions.

> "We had a normal washstand, made by old Juhász who used to live here. It was made of boards… and it had a hole; the soap and washing things were placed at the side. We used it only for this purpose, nothing else was kept on it. It had a base, on which the basin stood. (When we weren't using the basin) the top was closed and we could put this and that on it, whatever was needed. One basin was used for the doctor's visit, we didn't use it for anything else, it was always kept under the washstand. We washed ourselves in the other basin. We used to wash our hands in it because in a place like that your hands get dirty very quickly" (Aba, Fejér county).

3. The modernization of washing among the middle classes (1960-1970)

The so-called middle-class model of washing is characterised by the proper daily use of running water and bathrooms. Between the two world wars, personal hygiene among middle-class urban dwellers was on a bourgeois level. In Hungarian villages, this model emerged in general only in the second half of the 1970s, in the period when water supply pipes were installed.[37] Even at this time there were huge differences between generations, in terms of frequency and method. Older people followed the accepted traditions.

At about this time, the use of a common towel gradually started to be abandoned and new cosmetics and personal hygiene products, in the form of various types of soaps, skin lotions, perfumes, hair tonics, shaving kits and baby-care products, also appeared. However, in terms of hygiene, village customs lagged

[37] For a detailed description of hygiene habits of this period see Juhász 1998a; Juhász 2008a and 2009a.

behind those of the towns – a backwardness that was also evident in fashion. The high-quality cosmetics appearing in town shops or as the result of "pocket imports" were not to be found in the average village bathroom: only the village elite had the means to purchase them. If villagers did manage to acquire high-quality cosmetics – soaps, body lotion and face cream – they were placed on a shelf in the living room as prestige objects, where they could be seen even when empty. The notion of cleanliness remained unchanged during this period. Although deodorants became popular in towns, dances in the countryside were characterised by the strong smell of perspiration from under synthetic clothing.

For everyday washing and personal hygiene, most people bought mass-produced Hungarian products – "Baba" soap and cream, "Caola" soap and cream and "Kék-Vörös" (Blue-Red) soap. Well-to-do women also bought the latest products of the Hungarian cosmetics industry – "Camea" face cream, lipstick, face powder, lotion and hairspray. This same stratum of society went every week to the local hairdresser and beauty parlour. As a result of strong medical propaganda, more and more people brushed their teeth daily, by this time using their own toothbrush and with the then popular Hungarian brands of toothpaste – *Ovenall* and *Amodent.* Men shaved two or three times a week: electric razors became popular in this period, although among villagers traditional cutthroat razors were still in use. New Hungarian brands of shaving products emerged, such as *Barbon* and *Figaro*.

Typical bathrooms and washing utensils were used by villagers with urban lifestyles between the two world wars, and later by more demanding families in the 1950s and 1960s. Illustrated price lists suggest that there was practically no difference between types and forms of bathroom equipment, furnishings, tubs and washbasins with running water in these two periods. The number of households with bathrooms increased slowly after the Second World War, being acquired mainly by the village "elite" – party functionaries, civil servants, heads of collective farms or intellectuals. Water was drawn from a well by an engine or manually worked pump and was kept in storage systems. Water was heated in cylindrical boilers running on wood or oil. This means that the bathrooms built between the two world wars functioned without any change into the 1960s.

> "It is quite difficult – especially in the countryside where there is no water supply or sewerage system – to add a bathroom to an existing house. It requires the installation of a "Falu" boiler, normally set up in the – partly or completely rebuilt – outhouse that is used as a kitchen in the summer months [the "summer kitchen"]. The Falu boiler is filled with water drawn from the well, and the hot water runs directly from the boiler to the tub. The water then empties from the tub – through properly connected pipes – into a septic tank" (Lakáskultúra,[38] 20 February, 1967).

[38] *Lakáskultúra* was the first home-design magazine in the socialist era.

4. "Consumer socialism" (1975-1990)[39]

The processes that had began in 1968 in relation to consumption and clothing habits among urban populations affected villagers only in the middle of the 1970s. From the end of the 1970s and in the following decade, increasing numbers of people had an opportunity to go outside Hungary to shop, and even in the socialist period more and more Western products were becoming available in the shops. Hungarian industry followed Western trends increasingly rapidly, also influencing the range of available personal hygiene products.

Besides bathing every day, being well groomed now implied having clean and manicured hands; clean, combed hair; clean, healthy teeth; fresh breath; a clean-shaven face for men and depilated legs and bikini line for women; and a pleasant smell. For those living an unconventional, hippy lifestyle, popular among the younger generation in the 1960s to the early 1970s, an unkempt, unwashed appearance and long, greasy hair were acceptable. However, this way of life lost popularity in the 1980s and was never really followed in rural areas. Besides the well-known and new brands of soap, now shower gels and bath foams became available. Shampoos were produced to suit four hair types, and most shampoos came with a conditioner. People began to wash their hair more frequently, as often as several times a week. The latest toiletry items in the period were deodorants; cleansing milks and tonics developed as additions to facial creams; the new generation of toothbrushes and toothpastes; shaving foams and aftershave lotions; disposable razors; and baby-care products, including bubble bath, shampoo, lotions, oils and creams.

From the end of the 1970s, the proportion of households with running water increased rapidly, and, almost exclusively, new houses were built with bathrooms. The bathrooms of the 1980s reflect the urban model and the rapidly changing trends. Patterned wall tiles, floor tiles and colourful furnishings were novelties and could be bought in great variety. The automatic washing machine appeared, although old-fashioned washing machines and spin driers remained, being moved from the bathroom into the summer kitchen, since women would wash outside the house in the summer. The range of washing and personal hygiene products grew increasingly wide. Perfumed soaps, high-quality Hungarian and foreign shampoos, face creams, body lotions, shaving foams, deodorants and other products showed up primarily as decorative objects, being used occasionally by guests and then eventually by all members of the family. In detached village houses, members of the older generation held onto their traditional washing accoutrements besides using the bathroom every day. Washstands and washbasins were moved to the summer kitchen or to the entrance of the house and were regularly used for washing after, or in the course of, work in the garden or summer kitchen.

[39] The models described in the 4th and 5th points were presented in the mentioned exhibition and its catalogue (Juhász 2006b).

Earlier washing habits were retained through conditioning or necessity, since in this period a lack of adequate drainage and the limited capacity of cesspools meant that water use had to be rationed. For the sake of economy, water from the washing machine or bath was used to scrub the floors and flush the toilet.

5. Consumer society (1995 to the present)

The notion of cleanliness has become extremely complex today. Although at one time daily bathing was considered excessive, today it is common practice to wash one's hair every day. The rapidly developing consumer culture is creating newer and newer areas, methods and equipment for the culture of the body. The aim is to preserve youth, health, beauty and wellness through increasingly complicated, expensive and time-consuming techniques, targeted at every part of the body. This attitude determines the methods of personal hygiene and washing in both towns and villages. Everyone can choose from among the wide range of cosmetics, electronic appliances, bathroom equipment and accessories according to their resources. The difference is not between the village and the town, but rather between the poor and the affluent.

Today, bathrooms are built and furnished in a homogeneous style even in the villages. The latest trends are taken into consideration, of course, depending on the available financial resources. Bathroom fittings can be selected from the products of numerous producers and distributors. Today's bathrooms in rural areas are no different from those in the cities. Just as elsewhere in the consumer world it is an essential part of the house and is a place for everyday washing and bodily hygiene, a "sanctuary for beauty", a place for relaxation and tranquillity. Although the bathroom is a familiar sphere within the house, it reflects a kind of representational demand. However, this representative character differs greatly from that of the previous period, as now all objects in the bathroom are used for their proper purpose.

CONCLUSION

The complex psychological and social reasons for washing change according to time and location. With the social change characterized by modernization and urbanization in the first half of the twentieth century, commonly referred to as "the process of the raising of the peasantry to middle-class status", a complex change in culture took place, which had a profound effect on the mentality, lifestyle and social behaviour of the Hungarian peasantry. This process can clearly be traced in the changes in personal hygiene habits, which in turn completely modified the meaning of "washing" and the related customs. The process of a raise in status is always relative and far from uniform. No borderlines can be drawn between the phases. Numerous variations can be observed between the acceptance of new

cultural elements and the preservation of old ones. Well-to-do or more advanced social strata took the lead and set a good example in introducing new habits. The degree of progress achieved by an individual or a family is indicated by whether novelties are actually used for their intended purpose or only purchased for show. The acceptance of innovation may be motivated by external pressure, but also by internal cultural drive. On the other hand, an internal drive (e.g. the existence of a bathroom) can only lead to change if external circumstances (e.g. the presence of a water supply network) allow.

With the advent of modernity, washing and bodily hygiene became individualized: the individual freely decides where to belong and creates his or her appearance according to the demands of the community. The real breakthrough came in around 1990 with the fall of communism, after which the globalized consumer culture reached even the smallest settlement. Since that time, cleanliness habits are no longed defined by place of residence, but rather by the mentality of the individual, largely depending on their level of education and financial background.[40] Washing is not a simple elimination of dirt, but a rite of passage. With the activities that accompany it, the aim is to achieve an ideal, clean and perfect appearance, in conformity with what is acceptable to the community. Outer cleanliness indicates to the world around that the person in question is a full member of the community.

Earlier research into the subject of cleanliness shows that the subject is practically inexhaustible: it is important not only because of its bearing on society, morals, ritual, health and tourism, but also for increasingly important environmental reasons. The cleaner our artificially created environment, the more polluted our natural environment becomes. While the rapid rise in expectations in relation to cleanliness also affects our environment (office, street, public spaces), we have never before produced such vast quantities of waste. This tension is impossible to resolve, since the generation of waste and litter is, paradoxically, a by-product of cleanliness. Past and future interdisciplinary and international comparative research on cleanliness, cleaning and the use of water can provide useful points of orientation for the creation of an appropriate balance.

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NORTH-EAST HUNGARY IN THE 1960s AND THE LIVING STORY-TELLING IN A GYPSY COMMUNITY

KATALIN BENEDEK

ABSTRACT

The paper tries to draw a parallel between the socio-economic transformations of the past sixty years and the changes of the honoured story-telling community of the North-East Hungary. In this respect, four points of reference can be found: (1) the story-telling life of the colony during the Gypsy-Hungarian coexistence; (2) the story-telling of the commuters of the "black train" and the labourers of the large-scale industrial developments, taking place in the workers' hostels in the circle of Gypsy family members and non-Gypsy colleagues; (3) the individual cultivation of the tradition that has stayed alive up to the present, relegated into the family, complemented by the tales read from books or any other source; (4) the revival of story-telling competitions organized for children by the library or cultural institutions, in order to reuse ethnicized traditions. Árpád Fábián was a highly respected story-teller of his community that possessed rich folklore traditions (song, music, dance and other narratives). Not only the weight of his numerous long tales gave him a remarkable folklore knowledge, but his outstanding qualities as an actor were heightened further by his singing skills, which is proved by his two brilliantly performed tales with song-interludes. The author concludes that these were truly good tales for the audience, addressing children and adults alike: listening to tales among relatives and neighbours was the best entertainment for the 25-35 people gathered at the Gypsy ghetto of Szabadság square in the years 1955-1961.

Keywords: Romungro, Folktales, Story-Telling, Community, Hungary.

TYUKOD'S HISTORY AND RESEARCH HISTORY

Tyukod is a village in Szabolcs-Szatmár County, Hungary, near the Romanian border. Lying 70 kilometers south-east of Nyíregyháza, it was once an important settlement in the eastern part of the Ecsed marshland. With nearly 1,500 inhabitants, mainly from less affluent noble families, the village once played a vital role as the nest of the *kuruc* rebels. It has a noteworthy and recently restored late baroque reformed church, and a small-scale exhibition on local heritage has been

set up by the schoolmaster. Ethnographic fieldwork has been carried out in the village since 1955: Bertalan Andrásfalvy, Ágnes Kovács, Ernő Pesovár and others worked here in 1955-56; Ágnes Kovács in 1961; Ágnes Kovács, Veronika Görög and Katalin Benedek in 1984-85; and Veronika Görög, Katalin Benedek and others between 2002 and 2004.[1] In the course of their work a significant number of dances were recorded; the Hungarian, Hungarian-speaking Romungro, and Vlach Gypsy narrative tradition was chronicled; and records were made of life in the marshes, including basket making and mat weaving.[2]

Between 2002 and 2004 we carried out research into the ethnic structure of Szabolcs-Szatmár County, including north-eastern Hungary in general and Tyukod in particular. The village of Tyukod is home to around 1,500 Reformed Church (Calvinist) Hungarians, 261 Calvinist Romungros and some Vlach Gypsy families. We carried out ethnographic research mainly into the history of the Gypsy colony in Tyukod, referred to as the Szabadság Square colony; spatial and living arrangements in the village; the relations between the Gypsy inhabitants and local institutions (education, public and health service); their socio-economic status; the quest for the representation of minority interests; the rapport between Hungarians and Gypsies; majority-minority relationships; distance-preserving behaviour patterns; and relationships to religious practice.

By way of a linguistic description of the community, I made a short comparison of the characteristic speech acts occurring in a selected tale. On the basis of my *Bibliography of the Repertoire of Gypsy Storytellers* (2001)[3] and relevant materials from the *Bibliography of the Catalogue of Hungarian Folktales*, published in collaboration,[4] I examined the Hungarian and Gypsy characteristics of the tale "The Stretching Tree" in terms of social contact making, greetings, salutations, curses, oaths and skills of persuasion, in an attempt to illustrate the differences between Hungarian and Gypsy dialects and ethnolects. I led a working group for the preparation of a CD recording of the complete Tyukod audio material and for the preparation of an MP3 edition, and I undertook the comprehensive typologization of the complete recorded material. In relation to Fábián's material, I compiled a list of key terms according to notional categories, an index, and a lexicon of stories as the first step towards a future computer-based thesaurus analysis — an innovation in the field to date.

Before the Second World War, the landlords in Tyukod were the Urays. The Uray (or Urai) family came from Szatmár County, appearing in the sixteenth century and receiving the bestowment of Csenger-Ujfalu, Uraj and Tyukod settlements. The family settled in the county in the first half of the nineteenth

[1] Andrásfalvy 1956; Kovács–Andrásfalvy 1956a; Kovács–Andrásfalvy 1956b; Kovács 1961; Görög 1984-85; Benedek–Görög 2003.

[2] Erdész et al. 1970; Nagy–Vidák 1977.

[3] Benedek 2001.

[4] *Magyar Népmesekatalógus* 1984-2001.

century; they had landownership rights in the villages of Lövő-Petri, Rohod, Mária-Pócs, Buj etc. Bálint and Kálmán Uray were granted a barony in 1864. Today, their castle functions as a public library, a day-care facility and an agricultural machine centre.

Up until the nineteenth century, the main occupation in the vicinity of the Ecsed marshland, and therefore also in Tyukod, was farming and stockbreeding. Under normal circumstances, the land yielded large harvests and the marshes provided abundant feed for animals, mainly cattle and horses. Other occupations were a source of secondary income in some areas. The diversion of the rivers Szamos and Kraszna, and the final drainage of the marshland between 1896 and 1898, removed the threat of flooding from the enormous marsh and transformed the landscape in the space of a few years. The previously impassable reeds and mosses were cleared away, and today almost the entire area is under cultivation. Small settlements were established, including Tiborszállás, Halmos and Zsiros, as well as the farming estates of the Károlyi, Péchy and Uray families. Most of the alder forest was cut down, and today only a few withered trees remain as a reminder of the earlier forest. The once useless land began to be used for crop cultivation. A hemp factory was established at Börvely, a stone-paved road was built across the marsh in the direction of Börvely-Csenger, and a railway line was constructed, passing through Kálmánd, Börvely, Ágerdő, Tiborszállás and Nagyecsed.[5]

In the early twentieth century, all the houses were built of clay. Industrious homeowners constructed thicker walls to keep their houses warm in the winter.[6] Before the draining of the Ecsed marshes, everybody in the village had a loach tank: everyone fished for loach, and the fish were bought by traders from Szatmár and transported away for sale in the area in tubs bought from the Romanians. The poor lived mainly on loach, although the more affluent also added it to cabbage soup. There is evidence that a considerable proportion of the Gypsy population tended to integrate into the subculture of poverty in the village.[7] While the Gypsy blacksmith did not necessarily have the lowest social status in the settlement, the Gypsy herdsmen definitely belonged to the lowest stratum. However, the life of the landless peasants was somewhat similar to the historically defined position of the Gypsies.

Below is an outline of the spatial and temporal position of the village's basic units and settlements: Újtelep, two other farms and Tyukod. At present 30 inhabitants live in the two farmstead settlements, Szalmaváros and Zsíros. Szalmaváros has always been a well-kept, clean place. It had three streets, all inhabited, and the school was located in the Kálmán farmstead. On the Zsíros farmstead people were wilder; there was less cohesion among them. The farms of

[5] Borovszky 1896-1910.
[6] Nagy–Vidák, 1977.
[7] Havas 2002: 18-23.

Börvely and Köves became depopulated. In the boarding school there were more than 200 students in state care, mainly of Gypsy origin, aged between 14 and 18, who left the village at the age of 18. The dormitory comprised three small bedrooms and one big one. The non-boarding students taken care of in school between the end of lessons and home time are 80 percent Gypsy, and they are looked after by the wife of the schoolmaster. In the less prestigious village quarter of Szabadság Square, mainly inhabited by Gypsies, the spatial arrangement is as follows: between the houses there are grass plots, sties and saw benches, but no fencing. The inhabitants of the settlement spend their social time together in an informal manner: they enjoy being together in their organic world, passing time together, singing, raising children, entertaining themselves, playing, telling stories in the empty grass plots and on the small benches in front of their houses, arranging their day-to-day business, sharing their joys and sorrows. Those in the centre of the village dread the "gypsyfication" of their environment from new settlers: they look down on the day labourers dressed in a fashion different from their tastes, driving their dilapidated cars. At the same time, those on the other side cherish the almost unattainable dream of living like the peasants, not knowing that, in some cases, different or similar problems lie beneath their relative welfare.

The native inhabitants are Hungarians and Gypsies. Immigrants to Szabadság Square are strangers, Gypsies without local family connections, coming mainly from neighbouring Porcsalma (where the Greek Catholic population were originally Vlach settlers). Gypsies emigrate from Szabadság Square to the Hungarian-populated centre of the village, into houses bought with support from the local government and from their own resources. (Hungarians had already left Szabadság Square, where they were the majority until 1972.) The most successful career is that of a young man who works as a skilled mechanic. He lives in the main street of the village in an orderly house. With his mixed marriage, and by moving to the centre of the village, he has symbolically become part of the majority in the village, earning the respect of both sides.

Of the 2,800 inhabitants of Porcsalma, 40 percent are Gypsy. After the 1972 floods, people from Porcsalma, both Hungarians and Gypsies, settled in Tyukod. Today, approximately 163 (at most 220) Gypsy people live in Tyukod, of whom 103 are children. They lack education: the number of people with a secondary-school education is minimal. Apart from three people who completed secondary-school education and seven skilled workers (bricklayers, electricians), all the rest are unskilled labourers with hardly eight grades of school completed. They lack the education to increase their chances of getting a job.

The Hungarians in the village belong to the Reformed Church: apart from the Erdős family, who are catholics on the mother's side, everybody belongs to the Reformed Church. There are 27 Jehovah's Witnesses, the son of the leader being a local minority representative. The other son of the leader of the sect is also a Jehovah's Witness, and he and his wife are typical of well-to-do Gypsies: their flat

is furnished with modern white cupboards and carpet, and they have purchased flats for their children.

With respect to relationships with Gypsies from the neighbourhood, girls from Tyukod find husbands in the more dynamically developing Porcsalma. Boys come from Porcsalma to Tyukod to find wives. Out of 27 marriages, nine couples remained in Tyukod. Between 2002 and 2004, various social benefits made possible a meagre livelihood: HUF 15,260 in social benefits and HUF 4,600 per child per month in tax-free child-care benefit. Family allowance was HUF 5,400 per child. By way of school support, everyone received textbooks for free and the Gypsies did not pay for school meals. A family with seven children could get a total of HUF 85,000 to 100,000 in benefits. In November, there were two men employed in the local cannery, but the 17 workers who were employed by the cannery for three months were not officially registered. After that, these people had to make do with seasonal work, for example shovelling snow for the elderly, cutting wood, collecting twigs, and fruit picking in early autumn, where for a few weeks they received HUF 2,500 for an eight-hour day. They were given drinks (palinka and beer), but they provided their own food. The least well off, those living from one month's pension to the next, also tried to make ends meet by taking on loans from families at a usurious interest rate of 100 percent.

At present, Tyukod, a medium-sized settlement in the depressed eastern region, can be characterized as underdeveloped, with an unfavourable industrial structure, a low level of technology in agricultural production, and a population of poorly educated, unskilled labourers. The previous system of central regional planning has collapsed and the local governments are no longer the administrators of central regional policies. They are independent, but without the necessary financial resources. Without the state subsidies, which have been discontinued, stockbreeding is unprofitable. The closure of the state farm has led to many people leaving the county either temporarily or permanently due to mass unemployment. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist bloc, which formed the eastern export market for the country, has brought unemployment to the lives of many commuters. Not able to find work locally, having been laid off from agriculture, the hiring of commuters becomes unprofitable for employers due to travel and accommodation expenses, which also contributes to the problem of unemployment. Collectivization and state ownership brought an end to estate farming. Forest ownership rights became unclear, thus illegal forest clearing created opportunities for abuses.

The majority of the villagers make a living from animal husbandry, keeping mainly pigs and poultry, besides growing vegetables, tomatoes (cucumbers on larger plots of land) and fruit trees, which provide business opportunities. Those with little land are employed as seasonal workers and agricultural day labourers, picking fruit (mainly apples and plums), hoeing hemp, hoeing corn and sunflowers,

wood felling and cutting, paid for by the provision of daily food and drink rations and day wages. In this respect, a patron-client system is functioning, where the relationship between employer and day labourer is complemented by other exchange relations, such as the giving of second-hand clothes in return for repair work. Another source of livelihood is small-scale commerce and marketing. Motivated by almost permanent unemployment, in addition to household vegetable growing, the making and selling of baskets and the restructuring of family resources to accommodate day-labour contribute to making ends meet in conditions of poverty and great hardship.

Whereas half the village once made a living weaving baskets from reedmace, by the 1970s basket-making had become merely supplementary winter work, and today only one family practices the profession. In the past 150 to 200 years, a barter scheme has been based on basket weaving, which once played an important role in subsistence. As part of the barter scheme, baskets were exchanged for cereal crops from the productive villages of the Nyírség. The baskets were transported for sale by cart to Ör, Vaja, Jármi and Kapos. The grain they acquired was ground in the mill in nearby Porcsalma. Basket weaving continued until March, when the men were called to labour on the estate. Between the two world wars, basket-making was a common activity and weavers got together during the day and in the evenings. They created enormous baskets to order, and some examples are the finest pieces in museum exhibitions.[8] Before the First World War they went with their merchandise as far as Bereg, Szilágyság and Szabolcs counties, crossing the whole of Nyírség County by cart. They had connections with the inhabitants of Szamosbecs, Szamossályi, Jánkmajtis, Kisszekeres, Tiszakarád, Szatmárcseke, Venyige, Tivadar, Nyírábrány and Győrtelek. There were rich reedmace fields on the Ecsed marshland in the direction of Szamosszeg, Vaja, Hortobágy, Nyírvasvári and Érkeserű.

In the era of the state collective, a sewing factory was established in the village, where 62 skilled workers were employed on two lines. In this period, one could buy a Trabant car with 10 units of hemp seed (the purchase price for each unit being HUF 5,500). At present in the village there is a sawmill and a locksmith's workshop (with Gypsy employees, such as locksmith Pali Balázs and machine welder Pál Rézműves, who is also at cadet school); one cannery; a watermelon and paprika market garden; a fire station; and a cinema in the cultural centre. The nearby railroad line (Mátészalka-Csenger) has opened up new horizons for the local population, who, having low levels of education, can now apply for unskilled/skilled work in the factories of the neighbouring town.

The Romungros of Tyukod did not take part in typical occupations such as copper making, the village blacksmiths were not from among them, and apart from

[8] Bartha 1953.

one or two exceptionally gifted musicians, they were occupied in neither music nor commerce. The name of one village quarter refers to horse trading (Lúkert): according to the common memory the Vlach Gypsies moving to Tyukod from the neighbouring Porcsalma made a living from horse trading. We have a picture of the young Lajos Erdős, on which he is referred to as a horse herder, and it is known that his father, the king of storytelling, was the community herder. The Gypsy decrees introduced countrywide also had an impact here: Gypsies were excluded from land distribution after 1945, thus during collectivization they were forced into industrial labour. Regarding the placement of Gypsy children in state care, we find an example in the large Fábián family. The father was working together with his brothers and sons in various building companies (the family owns a photograph from the period when Árpád Fábián was temporarily employed with his sons at the Alkotmány cinema in Budapest). They stayed in the workers' hostel, returning home every Friday. They took the so-called black train to Mátészalka, changing for the train to Csenger if there was a connection, or paying for a taxi together to arrive home for the weekend, leaving once again for the capital on Monday. The income (which was, in the time of Barna Fábián in the late 1960s and early 1970s, HUF 60,000 to 70,000) was divided up by his wife to ensure the livelihoods of the couple and their three children. Barna Fábián was married in 1974 and lived with his parents for a further eight years, only becoming independent after receiving a bank loan for the construction of a poor-quality apartment. According to data from sociological research into the position of Gypsies in the building industry, and the commuting lifestyle that usually accompanied this kind of employment, in 1978 some 30 percent of Gypsy employees were working in the building sector.

In places with a large Gypsy population, for example in Csenger (about 1,400 Gypsies), or Porcsalma (40 percent Vlach Gypsies from a population of 2,800), there is greater cohesion than in Tyukod, where everybody is left to their own resources and there is no representative to communicate the needs and interests of the Gypsies to the authorities. In Tyukod, all the houses have electricity, but there is only water in the village, not in Szabadság Square, which has no sewerage system. However, there is no practice of safeguarding the Gypsies' interests in the local administration, and the Gypsies live in a peripheral and unbalanced position in comparison with the majority.

In Tyukod, just as elsewhere, the life of story-telling communities has been declining since the 1960s. Story-telling has been relegated to the family sphere, where grandparents have begun reading tales from the books brought home by children from the school library, since, in the absence of a living tradition, they have more or less forgotten their previous high-level knowledge. We found, for example, that the Fábián children did not inherit the magical stories from their skilled story-telling father: instead, they are reading rubbish, telling funny but far less complex tales about stupid ogres, or reading comics. However, the children's

hunger for tales is reflected by their interest in children's videos, and in the drawing and other competitions organized by the village librarian. In the lower-grades of primary school, this involved the exploration of the capabilities that arose from the culture brought with them from nursery school.

According to a 2003 report, there were 189 registered readers at the community library housed in the mansion of the Uray barons, that is, people who went regularly to read, borrow books, watch videos or take part in competitions. Of these, 121 were primary school students, 68 were young secondary school students, and only three or four were adults. In one of the large families of Tyukod, the Vargas, the six or seven children are all regular visitors to the library. However, like other children in general, they prefer watching video editions, for example of the Hungarian folktales series, to reading the books. The librarian has launched the campaign "I've read it, you should read it too!", with the aim of popularizing reading by encouraging children to recommend books to each other.

It is common knowledge that Gypsies adopt the folk and non-folk concepts constructed about them by their environment, even if they are not the most flattering. This can be explained by the cultural identification of stigmatized individuals with the discriminating group, and their assimilation to those passing judgment in defence against the moral disapproval so that they can define themselves with the concepts of dignity and pride in the other culture. (Examples of this can be seen in the case of relatives leaving Szabadság Square, who reject the story-telling tradition and moving into the everyday culture of the majority living in the centre of the village.) It can also be a deliberate artistic device: for example, the occasional citing of a mode of speech that contains traces of prejudice used as an artistic trick, with the function of bringing the audience back to reality or provoking laughter. It can be an elaborate, consciously used, pointed motif applied at the right moment, which once, used accidentally, triggered surprise, amazement, loud cheering or laughter. A miraculous scene pointing to the grotesque, which was appreciated by the audience, and the story-teller, with the sensitivity of an actor, realised its worth and reacted appropriately, reusing the element in subsequent performances and reaping the laurels of storytelling with his performance art.

A professional storyteller only recites what he knows perfectly, beautifully and flawlessly. Most are unwilling to retell stories that have not remained in their active repertoire. As outstanding members of their community, they have elevated the folklore memories of that community into a noble art form, developed it through artistic devices, and made the sometimes anachronistic traditions understandable and acceptable. The creative-minded storyteller has always used inherited subjects for his own pleasure and that of his audience by embroidering the content, turning the past into present and ancient tradition into a statement about today. Another indication of talent and creativity is that the stories reflect the image of the peasant society.

If we try to draw a parallel between the socioeconomic transformations of the past 60 years and the changes in the storytelling community, we find four apparent points of reference:

1) the storytelling life of the colony during Gypsy-Hungarian coexistence;

2) the storytelling of commuters on the "black train" and of labourers on large-scale industrial developments that takes place in the workers' hostels among Gypsy family members and non-Gypsy colleagues;

3) the individual cultivation of the tradition that has stayed alive to the present day, relegated to the family circle and complemented by stories read from books or other sources; and

4) the revival of storytelling competitions organized for children by the library or cultural institutions, in order to recycle ethnicized traditions.

The question arises as to whether it is possible to describe ethnic and regional characteristics manifested in storytelling style through a comprehensive presentation of the narrative ensembles of small communities. From this point of view it is important to examine the relationship between the Vlach-Gypsy dialect of the north-east (Zemplén, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Bereg, Ung counties in Hungary, Slovakia and the Ukraine) and the Transylvanian material (Maros-Torda and Kolozs counties in Transylvania, Romania) – presented here for the first time – as well as other regions of Hungary where the dialect is spoken (the Great Hungarian Plain, the southern Slovakian region and southern Transdanubia). The stylistic characteristics of these regions must be compared, also taking into consideration the stylistic characteristics of Hungarian-speaking Gypsies and the style of folktales as they are transmitted and popularised by means of mass media as well as by the work of writers and adaptors of tales. Although the majority of narrators are elderly and tend to favour traditional storytelling styles interspersed with traditional beliefs rather than with elements of urban culture, between the two ends of the continuum a great variety can be found. According to Károly Bari, Hungarian and Transylvanian Gypsy folktales differ from each other in that the tales found in Hungary seem to show a preference for a balance of magical and everyday motifs within the adventurous and rich weaving of tales; while Transylvanian Gypsies, living in less open tribal communities, seem to have retained a larger number of more archaic tales, which often have no parallels. Narrative style here is almost ritualistic: the audience joins in the storytelling and seems to regard the events recounted in the tales almost as part of their own lives.[9] Taking a sociological approach, Olga Nagy has studied this magical-mythical worldview in depth,[10] while Katalin Kovalcsik has carried out research into the ritualised, formal speech of storytelling.[11]

[9] Bari 1990a: 9-23.

[10] Nagy 1994: 56-94.

[11] Kovalcsik 1988: 13-24.

	SOUTHERN TRANSDANUBIA[12]			HUNGARIAN PLAIN			UPPER HUNGARY-SOUTHERN SLOVAKIA			NORTHEAST HUNGARY			TRANSYLVANIA (Romania)		
	Sz	V	%	Sz	V	%	Sz	V	%	Sz	V	%	Sz	V	%
Animal tales	005	008	02.7	014	016	04.32	000	000	0	032	036	04.26	008	009	01.51
Tales of magic	103	169	57.6	136	253	68.38	064	120	65.57	297	459	54.26	230	431	72.07
Religious tales	021	025	08.53	009	009	02.43	003	003	01.63	039	046	05.44	005	005	00.84
Romantic tales	010	010	03.41	022	023	06.21	004	004	02.18	044	051	06.03	021	025	04.18
Stupid ogres	014	039	13.31	010	012	03.24	006	022	12.02	022	059	06.97	013	023	03.85
Village mocking tales	002	002	0.68	001	001	0.27	001	001	0.55	013	013	01.54	008	020	03.34
Jokes, anecdotes	027	033	11.26	036	044	11.89	012	015	08.19	102	121	14.30	031	043	07.19
Tales of lying	003	003	01.02	003	003	00.81	014	014	07.65	027	034	04.02	016	020	03.34
Formulaic tales	003	004	01.36	007	009	02.43	004	004	02.18	025	027	03.19	021	022	03.68
Total		293	100	100	100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100

FOLKTALES TOLD BY ÁRPÁD FÁBIÁN FROM TYUKOD

In the storytelling community of Tyukod there were two Romungro storytellers with a rich repertoire. The first was Árpád Fábián, whose tales were collected by Bertalan Andrásfalvy, the young researcher of folktales and folk dances, who made several valuable discoveries and later became a renowned professor of ethnography; and Ágnes Kovács, the founder of modern folktale research. The other storyteller was Lajos Erdős, whose stories were collected by Ágnes Kovács and Veronika Görög. Apart from these two, recordings have been made since 1955 of three major Hungarian storytellers (the wife of Péter Szuromi, collected by Bertalan Andrásfalvy; Zsigmond Becző, collected by Bertalan Andrásfalvy and Ágnes Kovács; and the wife of József Kiss, collected by Ágnes Kovács, whose material has been compiled into a forthcoming publication), and an additional 12 storytellers. To date, between 120 and 130 narratives have been recorded, one-third of which are Romungro variants of the tales. This collection occupies a distinguished place in the region, alongside extraordniary repertoires such as the 260 texts of Lajos Ámi of Szamosszeg,[13] the nearly 200 texts of Anna and Ferenc Jóni from Rakamaz,[14] and the collections of Nagyecsed, in which 30 of

[12] *The Genres of the Folktales of the Hungarian Gypsy Storytellers.*
[13] Erdész 1968: 13-15.
[14] Erdész 1959 and 1960.

the 80 texts come from the material of the Vlach Gypsy Mihály Rostás (see the unpublished material of Katalin Kovalcsik in the archives of the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). However, we have knowledge of another 50 texts that have been recorded and are being edited for publication. All of the tale-tellers mentioned below are of Gypsy origin.

Árpád Fábián, one of the two outstanding Gypsy storytellers, was born in Tyukod in 1916 to a Romungro family, and he died in the same village in 1981, at the age of 65. He completed six grades of school and learned to read and write, which, according to the recollections of many, remained his favourite pastime. He was married twice. His second wife, Julianna Rézműves, was of Vlach Gypsy origin, and some of the Vlach Gypsy characters of the Fábián tales can be attributed to her. She and Árpád Fábián had 11 children.

We know from the 1984 collection of Ágnes Kovács and Veronika Görög that Árpád Fábián and Gyula Kiss went to school together. Kiss, a childhood playmate and later to become the cinema projectionist, stood by Fábián, who often faced difficulties as the head of a large family, until the end of his life. After Fábián underwent a lung operation in 1970, Kiss employed him and his older sons as day labourers for lighter work and saved enough from their wages so as to help them out with Fábián's funeral in 1981. According to recollections, Hungarian Gypsies went to school more often than Vlach Gpysies in those days. Yet Julianna Rézműves, mother of eleven children and having to cope without Fábián, who was commuting to Budapest to work as an unskilled construction labourer, could not prevent three of her children from being transferred to the state-run child-care home in Cégénydányád for truancy from school. It is characteristic of the strong cohesion in the family that, on the basis of a petition composed with the help of the Kiss family, she managed to bring two of her eldest sons back to the family after two months, while her daughter was returned after one year in state care. Fábián also benefited from the patronage of the Kiss family intellectually: according to recollections, it was at their home that he could get hold of the cheap novels published as a part of the literary supplement of the newspaper *Friss Újság*, adventure stories, and the story "The treasure of the Kuruc", which dealt with an episode in the history of Tyukod. Although Árpád Fábián attended communion services at the Reformed Church, he was not devout. For his first wedding, to Teréz Lakatos, he had both a church and a civil ceremony: however, in 1937 he had only a civil wedding when he married Julianna Rézműves. After 1945, Fábián worked at the cooperative state farm, then in Budapest for the road-building company, and in 1961 in Kazincbarcika. As they kept a cow and pigs, the family more or less made ends meet before 1945, but after 1945, as a consequence of working for state corporations and with the welfare benefits received for the children, a certain advancement could be noticed. As far as memory recalls, everyone moving into Szabadság Square had their own apartment; people did not live in hovels or huts.

As a good storyteller he was invited to many places, and one evening he told one of his tales at the request of the Andrásfalvy family in the house of the Becző family. Word had no doubt spread about his tale-telling, because the small room in the Becző's home had gradually filled (the Beczős themselves had offered their room for this purpose). In one of their notes Ágnes Kovács and Veronika Görög mention that Gyula Kiss offered his home as a location for the storytelling and conversation, when, at a certain moment, story-collectors would arrive. The collector of Fábián's stories, Bertalan Andrásfalvy, notes that he was using moderate gestures and a rather expressive but not exaggerated intonation to liven up his tales. Apparently, his stories had a great impact on his audience. The 15 tales told by Árpád Fábián represent a unique narrative interpretation of the world.

In order to be able to discuss the characteristic features of the tales, we must examine the narrative codes of his storytelling; its archaic, fairy-tale or cheap novel spatial characteristics; its fairy-tale greeting and salutation formulae; its stereotypes of cursing and fortune-telling; the plants, animals and objects in the world of the tale; its temporal characteristics; the means of transport; the characters and their function as presented in the tales; the kinship systems; the use of occupation and status; the nature of meals and decoration; the emotional-spiritual traits of the heroes; the role of dreams and sleep in the tales; and loathsome/disgusting things occuring in the tales, all of which constitute a system that reflects the internal and external world of the tale-telling community.

As for language use, the influence of Fábián's relatives, from whom he learned the skill of storytelling, must be taken into account, as well as the influence of his reading experiences from cheap fiction. It can also be assumed that he learned a part of his repertoire in the workers' hostels when working for state enterprises as a commuting construction worker.

THE EXTERNAL WORLD SYSTEM OF FÁBIÁN'S FOLKTALES

Mythical tales that retain archaic elements emerge in storytellers' repertoires even today. Several narratives represent heroes with superhuman abilities, a feature that differentiates Hungarian tales from related Western European texts, in which it is magical objects and helpers that frequently assist in the hero's victory. The most archaic Hungarian tales, according to the terminology of folktale research, comprise so-called Eastern elements. One such element is the motif of the sky-high tree: the hero of the tale cuts steps into the stem of the tree with his axe, and in this way he climbs higher and higher into the other-worldly spheres located above one another in the foliage of the tree. Various supernatural beings live in the tree, while in the hollows of the stem dwell the sun's mother and the moon's mother.

Researchers such as Sándor Solymossy and János Honti (who pointed out that the motif of the revolving castle, which was regarded as Solymossy as an

exclusively Eastern feature, also emerges in Western European tales) argue that this tale motif is derived from shamanistic practice.[15]

Bertalan Andrásfalvy collected three variants of the stretching tree tale in Tyukod: one tale was narrated by Árpád Fábián in 1955, and two strongly interrelated versions were narrated by Mrs Szuromi. Ágnes Kovács (1961) and Veronika Görög (1984–85) recorded three further variants narrated by Lajos Erdős. These six variants are more or less interrelated, and in a broader context are excellent representatives of the Gypsy (Hungarian) tale-telling practice that flourished especially in the 1960s to 1980s in the Szatmár micro-region of north-eastern Hungary.

The folktale is spread over the whole territory of Hungarian-speaking communities. The catalogue of Hungarian folktales registers more than 70 variants, of which 18 have been narrated by Gypsy storytellers.

The motifs of the world tree and the climbing of the tree definitely belong to the archaic world view, but their relationship with shamanistic practice cannot be pointed out.

As in heroic tales displaying archaic and mythical features, the world of the stretching tree tale is not friendly and cordial; it does not resemble the world of children's tales but is about the manly, brave, strenuous and victorious elimination of the harmful activities of the supernatural beings that invade our world. In this narrative universe an extraordinary hero struggles with and overcomes the supernatural creatures that threaten life, health and the human world in general. In other variants, extraordinariness is manifested in the following manner: the hero, Királyfia Kis Miklós (the King's Son Little Miklós), is the son of a king who reigns over 24 countries,[16] or the son of a monarch of 48 countries, whose garden hosts the stretching tree.[17] If the swineherd whistles, the trees break into pieces[18] or the ground trembles under the strength of the Champion of Seven Lands.[19] The dragon arrives in a storm, emitting light and sound (in another variant it walks slowly among the branches of the stretching tree with the kidnapped princess, in the midst of flashes of light[20]). The magical horse also flies up to the black cloud,[21] the devils have lunch at noon, and meanwhile the hero can cross over the Glass Mountain (i.e. the land of the dead).[22]

The events take place in an extraordinary temporal setting ("they travel without a break for seven nights, seven days and seven instants"[23]; it takes seven

[15] Diószegi 1954.
[16] Béres 1967: 141-165.
[17] Ibidem.
[18] Ortutay–Dégh–Kovács 1960, 2: 87-109.
[19] Erdész 1968, 2: 90-117.
[20] Szapu 1985: 124-128.
[21] Kovács 1961: 29-56.
[22] Ibidem.
[23] Kovács 1999: 196-222.

years and seven instants for the hero to get across Mould, Razor and Scythe Lands;[24] and the hero climbs the tree for seven years, seven days, seven nights and three hours).[25] The characters are endowed with extraordinary and supernatural abilities. The hero is engaged in battle, combat and victory following the advice of cosmogonic counsellors, after he has climbed the stretching tree that connects our world with the other world, the journey takes the hero from the world of the living to the land of the dead and back.

Along his way the hero meets various characters: a door opens in the stem and the iron-nosed witch is sitting there. "Good morning granny," the hero greets her. "You are lucky you called me granny, or I would have eaten you up."[26] In another variant there is a small hut in the tree where the mother of the wind lives, but the old woman, not knowing what the tree yields, sends the hero away. Only the Sun's mother can give him appropriate information.[27] There is a palace in the trunk of the tree with 90 windows; inside, a young woman is sitting, who takes the hero in and treats him to lunch. The next day she helps him to get to the top of the tree.[28] It is an old woman, the mother of Stars, who directs the hero, Királyfia Kis Miklós, to Tündér (Fairy) Tercia.[29] On a Sunday, the hero asks the son of the Sun what he knows about the top of the tree.[30]

In the course of his other-worldly journey, the hero is cut into pieces but then revives, in this way becoming initiated and capable of obtaining the magical horse that is faster than that of the dragon, therefore helping the hero to victory.[31]

In the background of the heroic epic motifs, beliefs and belief-based actions there is a religious system. Unconditional belief in the magical use of words, spells, curses, abuse and oaths plays an emphatic narrative role in the plot. "A pig bore your mother!" "Your mother's milk was good, or your head would have been impaled";[32] "May hounds drink your blood!";[33] "Be damned by both God and man if you don't marry off your three sisters to those who ask them through the window!" (The suitors are celestial bodies: Sun, Moon, Morning Star.) The hero marries off his sisters saying: "Nothing can be done, I can't rebel against my father's curse."[34]

At this point, the magical canon of numbers and colours should also be mentioned: the three suits that the hero wears are the colour of silver, gold and

[24] Ortutay–Dégh–Kovács 1960, 2: 87-109.
[25] Fábián 1997: 36-44.
[26] Bari 1996: 80-84.
[27] Csenki 1974: 302-306.
[28] Nagy 1996: 53-56.
[29] Erdész 1968, 2: 90-117.
[30] Kovács 1987: 193-206.
[31] Béres 1967: 141-165; Ortutay–Dégh–Kovács 1960, 2: 87-109; Görög 1984-85, Fábián 1997: 36-44; Bari 1990 b: 229-246; Nagy 1996, 4: 53-56.
[32] Ortutay–Dégh–Kovács 1960, 2: 87-109.
[33] Görög 1984-85; Béres 1967: 150.
[34] Béres 1967: 141-165.

diamond; the hero has to cut off the dragon's seven heads; he has to burn 12 piles of logs and to feed the glowing embers with an infernal nag so that it may become a magical horse; the hero obtains the power of a thousand men if he turns the magical ring round his finger; or he has to have a hundred iron slippers forged in order to be able to make his journey from our world to the land of the dead.

On the other hand, the most beautiful, human and vivid parts of these tales are the representations of the affectionate relationship between the hero and his magical horse; the spinning of Tündérszép Ilona (Beautiful Fairy Ilona/Helene) (represented in an intensified sensual and erotic manner by some storytellers) so that she marries the saviour hero who has climbed the stretching tree; or her artful flattery to coax out of the kidnapping dragon the secret of where his hidden external power or his fast-legged magical horse resides.

All these features together contribute to the fact that it is almost exclusively men who regularly narrate the tale of the stretching tree. Gypsies often narrate the tale when taking part in a vigil for the dead, although according to some data it is narrated to family audiences as well. Nevertheless, on each occasion the public's extraordinary expectations need to be satisfied.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the variants narrated by Árpád Fábián, as well as several other variants that belong to the north-eastern Hungarian Gypsy storytelling tradition, represent forms of the reinforcement of traditional social relationships expressed in stereotypical greeting and addressing formulas. They also contain folk beliefs in predictive dreams; incantations; transformational magical power; trees torn to pieces; the hero's initiation by being cut up; his revival by being moulded or slapped or through soul breathing; and the opening of a closed door while turning on one's heels three times. The power of words is proved by their use in curses, abuse and oaths. Traditional beliefs have survived and have been retained in these tales, for example the rubbish heap as an otherworldly location capable of endowing a colt with magical power, a power that can be lost if a diabolical old woman strokes the colt. Another vividly shared belief is that the supernatural creatures travel in whirlwinds, and the evil one arrives suddenly in a swooping black cloud: this also characterises the human hero of the tale as endowed with superhuman abilities.

THE STORYTELLER IN THE COMMUNITY

Árpád Fábián was a highly respected storyteller in a community that possessed a rich folklore tradition (including song, music, dance and other narratives). His folklore knowledge was evidenced not only by his many lengthy tales of high quality: his outstanding qualities as an actor were further enhanced by his skills as a singer, as proved by his two brilliantly performed tales with song interludes: number 14, The Army Bag (Old Hildebrand), which is discussed only briefly here due to the incomplete state of the recording; and number 15, The Three

Girls. He performed the two tales with song interludes, familiar countrywide, in a typical Gypsy delivery: he sang the song as a soloist, with the audience providing spontaneous accompaniment. Their instrument-imitating syllabic singing ('rolling') instinctively took up his rhythm, giving the impression that audience and storyteller were well used to one another. Kovalcsik's conclusions in relation to the music of the Csenyéte Gypsies can also be applied here: the key to his success was singing in a high-pitched piercing voice. The Tyukod audience regarded its performers in high esteem, and even though the tales were being recorded live, the audience began the accompaniment spontaneously. It was (musically) fluent, and without any difficulty they would beat the rhythm and sing spontaneously in thirds, entering fully into the jocularly competitive spirit of the traditional artistic performances of the numerous gifted storytellers, who, while endeavouring to entertain their audience, also tried to outdo one another.

It was in relation to Mihály Rostás, whose tales were collected by Kovalcsik, that several researchers into Gypsy storytelling in Szabolcs-Szatmár County pointed out that this type of competitive storytelling was also characteristic of other parts of the region, where living examples have been preserved for us by the series of funny tales told by Mrs József Kiss, Zsigmond Becző, Mr and Mrs Péter Szuromi, Árpád Fábián, and, among the younger generation, Lajos Erdős.

THE AUDIENCE

If we observe the effect on the Tyukod audience of listening to tales such as Rosalie and Rosonie Lemonfarting, we can conclude that this tale represents a middle path between serious, heroic tales, during which the audience listened without a sound until the end, and the witty, funny, risqué, obscene tales. The audience was highly amused by the unusual parts of the tale that are unacceptable to common sense, such as the absurd way in which the king's wife conceived. The words "No sooner did it go inside than her belly bulged out as big as this" were followed by a burst of laughter. Laughter was also provoked by sinister warnings spoken in a strong voice: "Get out of my sight, I'm going to kill you at once, right here!" and "I raised them, you left us, leave them alone, both fledglings are mine." The words that expose the king were accompanied by mocking laughter, since it is he who, not being able to speak the jackdaws' language, is unable to solve his own urgent problem and come to an understanding with the jackdaws, and in his capacity as referee, he only understands what is required of him after the wise prince, expelled from home by his parents and deserving a better life, points out to him what he should do.

Fábián lives the parts he relates, as if he were calling his own daughter when speaking in the king's role: "Now then, come my daughter!" The audience laughs, talks in the background, we hear a baby crying, the parents trying to comfort the child, and, when they get tired of trying, we hear them leaving. Lively appreciation

and animated laughter follow the strikingly bawdy, witty names such as Rosalie and Rosonie Lemonfarting. Fábián speaks in traditional storytelling style, with characteristic intonation. "Well, it's all part of the tale," he says, often apologetically, in the case of risqué, obscene or foul-mouthed phrases, but at the same time his intonation suggests that such phrases are not really counter to his tastes and, what is more, he is amused by them. The ending of the tale follows a formula often used by Fábián, which triggers huge laughter everywhere. "And the tale-teller was at the wedding feast"; "He caught the dog's tail and it shat on his hand"; "Take away the bone, it left behind the marrow"; "He's still alive, if he hasn't died." These ending formulae triggered loud laughter. This all suggests that these were genuinely good tales for the audience, appealing to children and adults alike. Listening to tales among their relatives and neighbours was the best entertainment for the 25 to 35 people gathered in the Gypsy colony of Szabadság Square in the years 1955 to 1961.

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MISSING OUT: GYPSY/ROMA/TRAVELLER CHILDREN AND EDUCATION. SOME EVIDENCE FROM FIELDWORK IN A NORTHERN CITY IN THE UK

IAN LAW and SARAH SWANN

ABSTRACT

The nature and complexity of relations between the movement of people (migration), the formation of boundaries between groups of people who have shared cultural meanings, memories and descent (ethnicity) and the formation and negative treatment of racial groups (racism) is a key focus for this paper. Migration, racism and ethnicity remain strong social forces and there is evidence of sharpening tensions and conflict in inter-ethnic relations This paper presents new information on the experiences of Gypsy/Roma/Traveller (GRT) children and education in Britain, providing both an assessment of current patterns of social and educational exclusion, and evidence from fieldwork with schools, parents and community groups in a Northern City. Welfare outcomes are particularly poor for this group, for example they have higher levels of infant mortality and lower life expectancy due to difficulties in accessing health services than most other groups, life expectancy for men and women is 10 years lower than the national average and Gypsy and Irish Traveller mothers are 20 times more likely than mothers in the rest of the population to have experienced the death of a child. In education, as well as some of the lowest levels of educational attainment, some schools are refusing to admit children from this group, imposing discriminatory conditions on admission or delaying registration. Also, of those that do get access to education, at least half of gypsy and traveller children in England and Wales drop out of school between the ages of 8 and 16. Furthermore, there is increasing evidence of almost total failure of access to higher education for this group.

Keywords: Gypsy, Roma, Traveller, Racism, Integration, Social, Education.

GYPSIES AND TRAVELLERS IN THE UK

Gypsies are believed to have moved into the UK from Europe from the sixteenth century onwards, with a significant community being established around London by the eighteenth century. The origins and differentiation of groups within this category are complex and may include the formation of groups with both indigenous and non-UK roots. Migration to the UK has been mainly driven by

expulsion and repression in mainland Europe together with rejection of sedentary lifestyles and feudal bonds. They have often being subject to oppressive vagrancy legislation. There has been a history of conflict between this group and the state particularly in relation to the enforcement of housing, urban planning and land control laws which has affected family travel and mobility (Morris and Clements 1999). Welfare outcomes are particularly poor for this group (Cemlyn and Clark 2005), for example they have higher levels of infant mortality and lower life expectancy due to difficulties in accessing health services than most other groups (Morris and Clements 2001), life expectancy for men and women is 10 years lower than the national average and Gypsy and Irish Traveller mothers are 20 times more likely than mothers in the rest of the population to have experienced the death of a child (Van Cleemput et al 2004).

Gypsies and Travellers they currently fare very badly in many dimensions of equality including longevity, health, education, political participation, influence and voice, identity, expression and self-respect, and legal security. Particular conflicts have arisen over housing and sites, media coverage and wider hostility where anti-gypsy prejudice is often expressed with significantly less shame attached to expressing it than is attached to expressions of prejudice against other groups. Also the criminalisation of this group has been accompanied by many high profile case and conflicts including where they have been criminalised for being homeless (since those living on unauthorized encampments are very often legally homeless), criminalised for pursuing a nomadic way of life, and collective punishment for the crimes of specific individuals, whereby whole settlements are evicted because of the behaviour of certain of their members (TLRP 2007). Many Gypsy and Traveller families have been forced off the land they owned and found it increasingly difficult to find stopping places which has brought them into greater conflict with other people and local institutions. Reduction in local authority sites and growth in the GRT population means that now over 30% of this group live on unauthorised sites or having nowhere to stop they are sometimes forced to occupy public places, which overall has a huge detrimental impact on health, mortality, education and labour market position (TLRP 2008).

In the UK some recent studies have highlighted the ambivalence that exists with respect to the presence of ethnic minority groups and the relatively unchanged patterns of ethnic and racial discrimination. Patterns of racial and ethnic hostility are diverging, Gypsy and Traveller groups are the object of very strong levels of hostility and discrimination whereas there appears to be declining hostility towards Black and Asian groups in some regions of the UK. A survey of attitudes in Wales (EHRC 2008) revealed that on the one hand many progressive attitudes prevail and there is a strong consensus that everyone should be entitled to be treated with respect, dignity and fairness by public service providers. The majority of those surveyed are not concerned by the prospect of more newcomers, including English

people, moving into their midst. But negative, hostile attitudes particularly against Gypsy and Traveller groups were also very strong. The survey asked people who they would choose to teach younger children and whereas more than three-quarters of those surveyed agree that gay men and lesbians are very or fairly suitable to be a primary school teacher, more agreed (90%) that Black and Asian people are suitable for this role. But only 37% felt that Gypsies or Travellers would be appropriate to be a primary school teacher with the majority of Welsh people who were surveyed seeing them as unsuitable.

Although most of these people have full citizenship rights, this category of Gypsy/Roma will also include people whose immigration status will be either, asylum seeker or refugee, and or migrant worker who have moved to the UK more recently from other EU states. The most recently arrived Roma in the UK have been subject to highly visible media hostility and vilification (Craske 2000). This group probably receives the most unfavourable media coverage of any minority group, with headlines like *Stamp on the Camps* being used by the Sun newspaper in calling for government and police action on Gypsy and Traveller sites (BBC News 11 March 2005).

Examination of patterns of social exclusion facing this group confirm that there is a severe lack of adequate data on this group in relation to labour market position and poverty, and that successive governments and research studies have failed to both identify the nature and extent of the economic context for this group and to go on to address these issues in the context of national anti-poverty and social inclusion strategies (Cemlyn and Clark 2005). However, the Social Exclusion Unit (2000), the Institute for Public Policy Research (Crawley 2004) and the work of the now defunct Commission for Racial Equality (2006) have begun to highlight this group in terms of racism and ethnic inequality. Cemlyn and Clark confirm that many Gypsy and Traveller children are "poor in multiple and different ways". Many are financially poor and there are many dimensions to the "poverty" faced by such groups. Also despite the paucity of robust data on the income of Gypsy and Traveller families, both anecdotal information and other studies show that some families have few financial resources. Gypsy and Traveller culture has been identified as strongly family orientated and child-centred and these family and extended family networks are seen as primarily providing support in difficult times. Gypsy and Traveller economies often involve family based self-employed activities, which are flexible, adaptable and opportunistic in relation to gaps and opportunities in mainstream economic markets. This includes declining traditional work in areas such as, farm work and scrapping, and other newer economic activity in market trading and construction. Moreover, there has been a decline in previous economic outlets for gypsy and travellers, particularly in the crowded urban environments (Power 2004). And, local authority restrictions on working activities

on official sites, such as pursuing trading activities or operating businesses, have undermined aspects of the traveller economy (Kiddle 1999). Many find that simply being a Gypsy or Traveller, and lacking basic literacy skills, prevents them from accessing mainstream wage labour jobs or training. Because of this, access to social security benefits is important for some families. However, research has shown levels of discrimination and disadvantage in accessing the benefit system for those who are frequently nomadic with some evidence of specific surveillance directed towards Gypsies and Travellers on the assumption that they commit benefit fraud, with the result that families can be denied benefit where there is little, if any, evidence of actual fraud (Cemlyn and Clark 2005: 153).

A new review of evidence (Cemlyn et al 2009) on these groups confirms these patterns:

- Gypsies and Travellers die earlier than the rest of the population.
- They experience worse health, yet are less likely to receive effective, continuous healthcare.
- Children's educational achievements are worse, and declining still further (contrary to the national trend).
- Participation in secondary education is extremely low: discrimination and abusive behaviour on the part of school staff and other students are frequently cited as reasons for children and young people leaving education at an early age.
- There is a lack of access to pre-school, out-of-school and leisure services for children and young people.
- There is an unquantified but substantial negative psychological impact on children who experience repeated brutal evictions, family tensions associated with insecure lifestyles, and an unending stream of overt and extreme hostility from the wider population.
- Employment rates are low, and poverty high.
- There is an increasing problem of substance abuse among unemployed and disaffected young people.
- There are high suicide rates among the communities.
- Within the criminal justice system – because of a combination of unfair treatment at different stages and other inequalities affecting the communities there is a process of accelerated criminalisation at a young age, leading rapidly to custody. This includes: disproportionate levels of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders against Gypsies and Travellers, instead of the use of alternative dispute resolution processes; high use of remand in custody, both because of judicial assumptions about perceived risk of

absconding and lack of secure accommodation; prejudice against Gypsies and Travellers within pre-sentence reports, the police service and the judiciary; and perpetuation of discrimination, disadvantage and cultural dislocation within the prison system, leading to acute distress and frequently suicide.

- Policy initiatives and political systems that are designed to promote inclusion and equality frequently exclude Gypsies and Travellers. This includes political structures and community development and community cohesion programmes.
- There is a lack of access to culturally appropriate support services for people in the most vulnerable situations, such as women experiencing domestic violence.
- Gypsies' and Travellers' culture and identity receive little or no recognition, with consequent and considerable damage to their self-esteem (2009: v-vi).

In many local authority areas, despite conflict with residents and media hostility, efforts have been made on a variety of fronts to improve communication, social inclusion and provision of services to both settled and non-settled Gypsy and Traveller families. A recent evaluation of multi-agency partnership working to achieve these objectives in Scotland concluded with the view that many families had been helped towards the services they needed and a good number were able to describe how this had helped health and wellbeing. But, as yet these developments had not achieved a generalised impact across the Gypsy/Traveller Community as a whole (Macneil et al 2005). Here, additional resourcing was seen as constituting positive discrimination and this was supported by many agencies given the clear failures of non-specific mainstream service delivery. So, the UK experience can provide a wide range of examples of innovative practice across different local authority areas as new ways are found to improve patterns of provision, but substantial inequalities remain.

Although there is a tendency, as Cemlyn *et al* note (2009: 255/6) for some Gypsies and Travellers to be resigned to a lower class, marginal status of racism, discrimination and inequality there has also been increasing national mobilisation of Gypsy and Traveller organisations in the UK with a primary concern to campaign for law reform in a variety of fields including housing, planning and education, particularly calling for access to land for caravan sites, and access to schooling. The Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition (G&TLRC) was an alliance of Gypsies, Irish Travellers, New Travellers and other travelling groups who came together to promote the Traveller Law Reform Bill and policies to increase and improve site provision. This coalition consisted of all the national

Traveller groups including the Gypsy Council, the National Travellers' Action Group, the UK Association of Gypsy Women and the Irish Travellers Movement, the Advisory Committee for the Education of Romanies and Travellers (ACERT) and a range of other related organisations including Gypsy and Traveller support groups and units. This was disbanded, the reasons for this require further research, in 2006 and Friends Families and Travellers, The Gypsy Council, The Irish Traveller Movement and the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit sought to establish a way of continuing the valuable work on law reform achieved by the Coalition. These four organisations agreed to set up the Traveller Law Reform Project (TLRP) http://www.travellerslaw.org.uk/index.htm which primarily aims to bring about positive changes in the law in relation to the rights and needs of all the Gypsy and Traveller communities. At national level, as with other minority groups, there is an all-party parliamentary group of MPs and others concerned to advocate these concerns. This works closely with members and representatives of these minority groups but speaks on their behalf. The APPG Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform is a parliamentary group committed to raising the social inclusion of Travellers and improving relations between the settled and Traveller community.

Challenging prevailing power relations that operate within ethnic relations in the UK with these groups being largely ignored, unheard and invisible is tough. We are likely to see a continuing crisis characterising the political and social conditions of these families where improving evidence, understanding and recognition accompanies increasing poverty and immiseration.

CATEGORISING THIS GROUP

This group has much diversity within it and is estimated to include 200,000-250,000 people (Morris 2003, Clark 2004, Clark and Greenfields 2006). In Britain there are UK Irish Travellers, Scots Travellers (Nachins), Welsh Gypsies (Kale) and English Gypsies (Romanichals) among others. There are also Travelling Showpeople (Fairground Travellers), Boat Dwellers (Bargees) and Circus Travellers. Ethnic identifiers, including language, identity, names and traditions vary across these sub-groups, and many can opt to conceal their ethnicity as phenotypical characteristics are more difficult to use to mark out this group. They are therefore on the margins of racial visibility, but they are clearly social and ethnically identifiable, particularly in terms of a long shared history, of which the group is conscious as distinguishing it from other groups, and the memory of which it keeps alive; and a cultural tradition of its own, including family and social customs and manners. In the decennial census of population these groups, where enumerated, are included in the "White" category.

Gypsy/Roma and Travellers of Irish Heritage are identified as racial groups and covered by the Race Relations Acts as legitimate minority ethnic communities. Gypsy/Roma people have been recognized as a racial group since 1988 (CRE v Dutton). Travellers of Irish heritage received legal recognition in law as a racial group in 2000 (O'Leary v Allied Domecq). Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities frequently experience social exclusion and discrimination which can be intentionally or is unintentionally racist in character on account of the lack of knowledge by the perpetrator(s) of their legal minority ethnic status. Legal recognition of this group is necessary in order to secure protection from racial discrimination. Members of a group that is not recognised cannot legally pursue complaints of racial discrimination. Therefore, prior to this formal recognition racial discrimination against Gypsies and travellers was lawful and could not be challenged in the courts or in industrial tribunals. Since 2003 Gypsy/Roma and Travellers of Irish heritage are two distinct ethnicity group categories within the School Census. These two groups are defined as follows:

Gypsy/Roma – This category includes pupils who identify themselves as Gypsies and or Romanies, and or Travellers, and or Traditional Travellers, and or Romanichals, and or Romanichal Gypsies and or Welsh Gypsies/Kaale, and or Scottish Travellers/Gypsies, and or Roma. It includes all children of a Gypsy/Roma ethnic background, irrespective of whether they are nomadic, semi nomadic or living in static accommodation.

Traveller of Irish Heritage – A range of terminology is also used in relation to Travellers with an Irish heritage. These are either ascribed and or self-ascribed and include: Minceir, Travellers, Travelling People, and Travellers of Irish heritage. Travellers of Irish heritage speak their own language known as Gammon, sometimes referred to as *Cant* and which is a language with many Romani loan-words, but not thought to be a dialect of Romani itself.

The School Census categorisation does not include Fairground (Showman's) children; the children travelling with circuses; or the children of New Travellers or those dwelling on the waterways unless, of course, their ethnicity status is either of that which is mentioned above. If the school has a confident belief that the children in question are likely to be, or have a Traveller heritage, then they should be encouraged to declare it within the context of the ethnic group completion form, but only after establishing, through diplomatic questioning, whether they agree to subscribe to the ethnic status of either Gypsy Roma or Traveller of Irish Heritage. The historic social status of Gypsy Roma and Travellers of Irish Heritage has been negative and there may well be some parents who feel that they are protecting their children by not declaring their ethnic background. In these circumstances, every encouragement and reassurance should be given to these families by carefully explaining the value to be gained for the child from the exercise. So, clear guidance

is in place for dealing with the difficulties that may arise in ethnic monitoring and the rights of the "data subject" are prioritised.

In December 2008 the Office of National Statistics, after a long process of consultation, agreed a new categorisation of ethnic group in the forthcoming 2011 national census. This has important implications for many public sector agencies and researchers and is examined here. The purpose of the ethnic origin question is primarily to allocate resources, for example to local government, and facilitate the monitoring of racial and ethnic discrimination. Despite the detail of existing categorisation of ethnic group it is interesting to note that in the consultation process over 40% of data users felt that this failed to meet their information requirements and this indicates the importance of making revisions.

New categories to be included in 2011 are "Gypsy or Irish Traveller" and "Arab" and are being introduced due to the recognised user need in relation to informing appropriate delivery of public services and the current lack of data. The Office of the Deputy Prime Minster (now known as Communities and Local Government) stated that the collection of such information would "enable those authorities responsible for providing accommodation, education and health services to ensure that the needs of the Gypsy and Irish Traveller community are accurately assessed and resources properly targeted" (2008: 19).

Inadequate enumeration of ethnicity remains a major problem as the small sizes of some of the groups means that survey samples cannot be meaningfully disaggregated (Walby et al 2008). Grouping together some ethnic categories, such as Gypsy and Traveller groups, leads to a loss of potentially important distinctions. Additional boosts to the main sample composed of those from ethnic minority groups can be used, but this can introduce complexity and loss of transparency (Walby et al 2008).

Overall, these changes will lead to an improvement of the data base on ethnic group, particularly for Gypsies and Irish Travellers where very little data existed previously. But the collection of ethnic group data remains controversial for individual respondents and communities with varying levels of ambivalence, confusion and opposition. The failure to enumerate Gypsies and Travellers in previous censuses in 1991 and 2001 unlike other significant ethnic minority groups is one key cause of the failure of progressive policy and practice interventions in ethnic relations to tackle discrimination, exclusion and inequalities affecting this group. In addition, a pre-dominant focus on non-white groups in national policy development has also created new forms of exclusion as the specific situation and needs of these groups have been largely ignored, for example by the Commission for Racial Equality The exclusion of Gypsies and Travellers from the concept of exclusion, from census data collection and related ethnic monitoring of public services and from policy debate and action indicates that their marginalisation from dominant power relations has led to their worsening outcomes in education and other key spheres of life.

EDUCATION: ISSUES AND EVIDENCE

There are over 12,500 Gypsy/Roma and Traveller pupils enumerated at school in the UK. Gypsy/Roma and Traveller pupils experience the most severe educational exclusion of any minority ethnic group in the UK with levels of attainment being roughly a quarter of the national average: 13-15% of GRT pupils obtaining five A*-C GCSE passes compared to a 60% national average. Additionally, patterns of attainment at this level are declining, which is markedly different from other minority ethnic groups where there is evidence of some improvement. The consequences of missing out on an education include an inability to find employment and exclusion from society at large (Bhopal, 2004). This is particularly a problem for Gypsy/Roma and Traveller girls (Children's Society, 2007).

In 1985 the Swann report identified Gypsy, Roma and Traveller pupils as being strongly affected by many factors influencing the education of children from other minority ethnic groups including racism, stereotyping and the need for more positive links between Gypsy, Roma and Traveller parents and their children's schools.

Research conducted to discover the basis of underachievement in Gypsy/Roma and Traveller groups has shown that their regular mobility is only one factor which contributes to difficulties in attending school. Other factors may be the perception of school as being unsupportive of Gypsy/Roma and Travellers' lifestyles; parents being fearful of what their children will experience at school, despite otherwise valuing education; a less than positive first experience in schools which leads to a cycle of non-attendance (Kendall and Derrington, 2003).

Much government policy fails to take sufficient account of Gypsy/Roma and Travellers' educational needs (Bhopal, 2004), and as a result there has been a decline in attendance of Gypsy/Roma and Traveller pupils at secondary schools, with only one third of such children now in mainstream education and an average drop-out age at 11.49 years (Children's Society, 2007). Gypsy/Roma and Traveller pupils attract the kind of discourse which characterises them as being outside mainstream society, as being "other"; indeed, their irregular attendance at schools and subsequent poor educational achievement are significant factors in terms of highlighting the problems inherent in the present educational system. Nevertheless, traditional hostility to schooling among Gypsy/Roma and Traveller parents has shifted more recently, and with new distance learning programmes and the use of technology, many pupils can combine a nomadic lifestyle with effective education (Bhopal 2004).

With regard to the Gypsy/Roma and Traveller children who do attend schools, there remains the problem of bullying and being alienated (Children's Society 2007). Gypsy/Roma and Traveller children have no problem in identifying

themselves as such, but do object to disparaging and offensive ways in which other label them (ibid.). A major issue is the degree to which it is possible for such children to achieve integration in mainstream schools while also preserving their cultural identity. Okley (1997) claims that entry into mainstream education can lead only to assimilation and that participation should be resisted by Gypsy/Roma and Traveller communities, with learning, rather than formal education, taking place within community and family groups. Indeed, this may be one of the main reasons why Gypsy/Roma and Traveller parents are reluctant to send their children to school. Research has also shown that parents worry additionally about racism, the moral welfare of teenage girls, sex education, drugs, and potential damage to the family network (Save The Children 2001). Indeed, family is regarded as important among Gypsy/Roma and Traveller children and any policies directed at helping them enter mainstream education must take into account familial networks involved in these communities (Children's Society 2007).

Permanent exclusion rates are higher than average for Travellers of Irish Heritage, Gypsy/Roma, Black Caribbean, Black Other and White/Black Caribbean pupils (DES 2006). Some schools are refusing to admit children from this group, imposing discriminatory conditions on admission or delaying registration (Clark 2004), whereas some central and local government initiatives have sought to challenge these processes and prioritise inclusion work. Also a recent study found that of those that do get access to education, at least half of gypsy and traveller children in England and Wales drop out of school between Key Stages 1 and 4 and the same study also showed very high rates of exclusions (DfES 2005). Furthermore, there is increasing evidence of almost total failure of access to higher education for this group (Clark 2004).

Education among Gypsy/Roma and Traveller children has recently generated a good deal of public attention, with major reports published by the Commission For Racial Equality (*Common Ground: Equality, good race relations and sites for Gypsies and Irish Travellers*, 2006) and The Department for Schools, Children and Families (*The Inclusion of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Children and Young People* 2007). Nevertheless, much work needs to be done in order to reverse some of the declining trends among Gypsy/Roma and Traveller children, both in terms of their attendance at mainstream schools and their educational achievement record. Here, appropriate research would be concerned with identifying key barriers and constraints to inclusion and evaluating the impact of interventions that have been established to address these problems so far. Different barriers are likely to operate in different local contexts and with varying impact across different GRT groups, so identifying specific contexts, key intervention mechanisms and outcomes is required in evaluation research.

Nevertheless, in terms of broad critiques of the system, many commentators point to several unaddressed problems in LA and school strategies to combat

racism. More concerted effort towards conducting ethnicity monitoring in schools is also needed (Parekh 2000). There is a severe lack of minority ethnic teachers (Tomlinson 2005; Wilkins 2001), while a change in institutional ethos is required with a teacher education curriculum based on a critically transformative notion of education (Wilkins 2001): teachers need to see themselves as agents of social change (ibid.). Citizenship needs to be tackled as a contested notion that confronts issues of social inequality head on, and there needs to be a structured educational framework which discusses racism and other forms of oppression, rather than passing reference made in the curriculum (Singh 2001). Cultural diversity should be valued and reflected in the curriculum (Gokulsing 2006); Gundara (2000) proposes a "curriculum of recognition".

POLICY DEBATES

The Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF) confirmed recently its commitment to raising the attendance and achievement of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller pupils. In 2003, the Department (DfES which became the DCSF in 2007) published *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils*, and *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Gypsy Traveller pupils: A Guide to Good Practice.*

Declining GCSE attainment for Gypsy/Roma and Traveller of Irish Heritage pupils is seen as being caused by family circumstances such as housing, income and health, as well as peer pressure, all impact on children and young people's performance in school, and the government aims to tackle these through a combination of mainstream and targeted programmes. Initiatives to improve minority ethnic achievement at school include the *Aiming High* programme, the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG)[1], the Black Pupils' Achievement Programme[2]

[1] EMAG is provided by the DCSF to schools and local authorities for the support of minority ethnic pupils. EMAG-funded staff are frequently deployed to support the integration and achievement of new arrivals. Ofsted's report *The education of asylum-seeker pupils* recognised the vital role school staff funded by the EMAG played in supporting asylum-seeking pupils and their families. Teaching was at its most effective where there was close collaboration, planning and support between class teachers and EMAG staff.

[2] The aim of the programme is to work with Local Authorities (LAs) and schools to focus on raising the attainment of all Black pupils and by doing so raise overall attainment. The programme aims to:

- support schools to develop leadership (senior and middle managers') capacity to lead a whole school approach to raising achievement of Black pupils,
- develop knowledge and understanding of the specific issues facing Black pupils and equipping teachers with the skills to respond to them,
- develop LAs' capacity to support schools to raise Black achievement,
- work to mainstream issues around raising achievement within the national strategies.

and a cross national programme to raise attainment among Gypsy/Roma and Traveller pupils which was launched in September 2006, with 11 local authorities and 48 educational settings offering targeted support.

Overall, there is official government recognition that raising attainment and minority ethnic groups is a key component of national strategy. However, initiatives and policy implementation are highly uneven and ethnic inequalities remain highly durable with deteriorating outcomes for GRT young people. A recent critical review of this field argues that such inequalities are locked into the UK education system and that policy is not designed to eliminate this but to "sustain it at manageable levels" (Gillborn 2008).

In a recent review of the proposed Education and Skills Bill, the Traveller Law Reform Project (TLRP 2008) argued that the existing barriers of bullying and racism against Gypsies and Travellers that are common in schools and colleges contribute to their low attendance record. The endemic problem has been the reluctance of local authorities to respond to the needs of GRT people, for example the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit states that there has been no strategy on how to provide adequate, useful vocational training for the 14-16 year-olds whom the Government recognised were not benefiting from school. They argue that there is a need to oblige all local authorities to have a Traveller Education Service resourced commensurate with the population identified in Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments, without which many children would completely drop out of the system. The experience of TLRP member groups in London is that where no Traveller Education Service exists, very poor practice is common in schools, especially concerning bullying and discrimination (TLRP 2008).

New legislative proposals on integrating equality policies have also been criticised by the Traveller Law Reform Project, who along with many other organisations, think that the proposals will weaken existing protection for ethnic minorities, including Gypsies and Irish Travellers. They argue that Gypsies and Travellers benefited little from race equality legislation until the Race Relations (Amendment) Act was passed in 2000, that voluntary guidance does not work and that a focus on race equality is needed which may be lost in the harmonisation of equality legislation and agencies. In applying "modernisation" and managerialist priorities to equality legislation, protection against discrimination and the statutory responsibilities of public authorities and agencies have been eroded through the principle of "proportionality" (*no need to take any action which might be disproportionate to the benefits of that action*). This is a move back to voluntarism, allowing public services to only address issues of ethnicity, racism and related inequalities as they see fit (Gillborn 2008: 131-132). Here a school may wish to act to narrow achievement gaps, tackle racist bullying or encourage greater parental involvement, but there is no statutory obligation to do so.

FIELDWORK CONTEXT

This article presents the emerging findings drawn from the "Ethnic differences in education and diverging prospects for urban youth in an enlarged Europe" (EDUMIGROM) research project which examine where, when and how ethnic minorities miss out on educational opportunities both in England and in Europe (for more information see http://www.edumigrom.eu/). This study is examining three groups; Gypsy/Roma and Traveller, Black Caribbean, and Pakistanis in two Northern city contexts. Analysis of the social position of these groups in the UK shows that, the Black Caribbean population tends to be economically disadvantaged and socially assimilated, in terms of cohabitation and marriage patterns, and with some significant degree of political incorporation; and the Pakistani population tends to be in a position of greater economic marginality and poverty, with more social distinctiveness, due partly to social closure, and less political incorporation (Peach 2005, Modood 2005). Both of these groups had the right to settle in the UK, to acquire citizenship and participate in electoral politics due to previous British colonial relations and obligations (Robinson and Valeny 2005). So within the UK, comparative analysis of ethnicity indicates that GRT groups, who are a part of the Roma diaspora, despite centuries of residence are more marginal and experience poorer social and economic outcomes, particularly in educational attainment, than more recent migrant groups.

The findings aim to articulate a sound basis for understanding both relevant sociological theories and policy debates over what should be done to improve educational outcomes for Gypsy Traveller groups.

The *Gypsy, Roma, Traveller Achievement Service* operating in the selected Northen city in the UK, identified 574 Gypsy/Roma and Traveller children aged 5-16 in their census in 2004, and it has worked with over 1000 children from these groups recently. It was important to work with people who are known and trusted by the community so the interviews were set up by a local community led organization which provided information, advice and advocacy support. This provided both an interesting case study in itself as well as an accessible research context. Here the help of the Inclusion Worker, who herself was Gypsy Traveller, was of particular help.

EMERGING FIELD WORK FINDINGS

Gypsy Traveller identity as a source of pride and discrimination

Ethnicity is an identity base to which all people subscribe. To acknowledge differentiation and hierarchy within society means looking at how Gypsies and Travellers position themselves as social beings. In interviews, respondents tended to frame their ethnic identity in two ways. First being a Traveller was seen as being

a key target for discrimination and prejudice, "If we can't use the word racism, what can we use?" The points to some of the ambiguities of policy in Britain and some of the inconsistencies in managing ethnic diversity. Despite Traveller being a distinct ethnic identity, respondents felt their whiteness impeded recognition of the issues they faced. Reclaiming racism was one way the community accounted for the inequalities experienced in housing, employment, education and in access to government services in their community. Whiteness is not popularly equated with ethnic minorities and Gypsy Traveller ethnic identity remains "invisible" to many and a form of culturelessness which serves to disadvantage and exclude. Whereas other writers have sought to explain culturelessness as the omnipresence of whites being positioned at the centre, "around which a carnival like array of multicultural difference is displayed for their enjoyment and sampling" (McLeod and Yates 2000: 3), this is not the case for Gypsys and Travellers. Their culture simply is not acknowledged. They are not objectified as black ethnic groups but are rather placed unnoticed on the periphery of "normal" whiteness.

Daily inconsistencies in managing diversity with inclusion policies create many layers of understanding that constitute how Gypsies and Travellers learn to understand the world and themselves. In informal conversations, respondents drew on a number of examples which "proved" their inferior social standing in race relations. Dialogue often highlighted inter ethnic competition with other ethnic minority groups for resources. Recently settled communities such as eastern Europeans were perceived as getting a better deal in terms of housing and benefits. Collections for Haiti invoked the response, "charity begins at home". One conversation contrasted the high profile coverage of black murder victims Stephen Lawrence and Damilola Taylor with Johnny Delaney, a fifteen year old Irish Traveller who was killed in a racist attack in 2003 which was scarcely mentioned or discussed.

Understanding ethnic identity and social self positioning involved emotional work. Specifically this meant how they positioned themselves in relation to others and how others positioned them. Overall, Gypsy Traveller identity was seen as being rooted in lower social class status,

> "Because we as society like to put things in to little boxes, which forces people to fall under classes, and once you've been branded a class it is hard to progress from that.... the government make it harder by keepin' lower classes together, so all they are gonna know is what they are around. That's the Governments aim. *Dont Teach Them*, Phase them out...."

Everyday life invoked belonging to a lowly social status. In a mistake over change in a shop, a Pakistani shop keeper said, "You Travellers can never add up". Her response was to say that "Pakistanis only got out of Pakistan because of Travellers". Attitudes are complex. Such interaction shows the significance of ethnic boundaries in demarcating social status but in doing so it demonstrates more

of an artificial prejudice where one group invokes a claim higher social ranking through the putting down that of another.

How larger society chooses to identify you then has implications. It creates prescriptive social norms which serve to marginalise and subordinate the community's interests. Having this understanding involved constant struggle resulting in sometimes complicity and sometimes resistance which links back to the reticence Gypsies and Travellers have in acknowledging their ethnic identity.

Discussion of discrimination referenced daily experiences of unfair treatment which brought about strong passions. This included a high police presence on the site and being targeted in public spaces, for instance being followed by store detectives around shopping centres. The image of the Gypsy Traveller and its otherness also brought opportunities from time to time. For instance a television company wanting to achieve a faithful interpretation had approached the community for an actor to play Heathcliffe in a new film. Although in some ways it represents a positive opportunity for an individual person, the feeling was that it exploited ethnic stereotypes as the fictional character is an untamed, volatile and wild man set against society at large.

A chameleon identity was often used as a coping strategy for fear of harassment. Much was said about being adaptable and hiding their "true" identity in order to fit in. This was enabled by having white skin colour and physical appearance. For K. shopping for Miss Sixty jeans, she abandons those things which have cultural significance by altering her style of dress and wearing less jewellery so she does not stand out. S. was participating in higher education at college but in order to succeed he felt he had to act like a *gorja* (a member of the settled community), which "made me feel a bit disappointed in the whole system to be honest, and that I was keeping what was truly me back". His strategy worked until his grandmother died and he asked for time off to grieve. He was faced with a lack of understanding so came clean about his identity and from this point people treated him differently drawing on common stereotypes etched onto the British psyche,

> "They came out with the typical stereotypical (comments), *rubbish spongers, ain't gonna do anything with this..... why is he bothering? They're difficult' (...) they have to ask the stupidest of questions like have I been locked up and so on (...). You just laughed it off, take the piss back and you get on. It's harder to deal with when it comes from the people who should know better, and who you are looking to for help*."

Responding to insults in everyday life through jokes and banter was a strategy which enabled him to build friendships with peers which were sustained after day to day institutional contact, "most of the people I went to college with I still talk to and meet up sometimes to catch up". This was at some personal cost but

he was most negatively affected by the responses of lecturers who placed in positions of power he felt he was supposed respect.

It was felt that discrimination had been going on so long that it was almost inevitable. As one interviewee says, "I believe we are victims of hate and ignorance. (….) How long have Travellers been in England? 400, 500 years? If we haven't got rights now, when will we?" Discourse frequently drew on a collective heritage memory and the long history of racism linked to world events (in particular The Nazi Holocaust) which invoked struggles to survive against centuries of persecution. The need for equality and equal treatment are frequently emphasized as the general consensus among the community is that Gypsy Traveller identity is the last ethnic group which is not respected.

> "Travellers should be able to get treated like everybody else and they should have really good jobs like everybody else not just because they are travellers, we are all human beings, we haven't got 50 heads, we have only got one head like every other person, just because we live in a trailer what is the difference?"

Simultaneously ethnic identity brought about strong feelings of pride which was not as apparent in discussions with other ethnic groups. Pride seemed to stem from a shared sense of who Gypsies and Travellers were and where they came from. The influence of mass media was very much evident among young people and their use of social networking sites like facebook or youtube emphasised pride in the community. It was a way of connecting to other Gypsies and Travellers. For instance facebook hosts groups like "we are loud and proud to be gypsy". Being Gypsy Traveller meant being resilient, self reliant, adaptable and showing initiative which were the qualities which had enabled them to survive. Being a Gypsy Traveller was understood as something in the blood and etched into the psyche. It was not a choice but something you were born into. Like all other ethnic groups Gypsies and Travellers have customs and cultural values which mark out their way of life. Interviews often had the tendency to draw comparison with the white settled hegemonic *Gorja* community. This process of "ethnic othering" highlighted a number of policy relevant facets. First, was a strong sense of boundary between childhood and adulthood, each having established norms. Life within the community revolves very much around the family which provides social and psychological security. Children are very much the centre and it is the role of the family to raise children. The centrality of family serves as a great source of solidarity and stability in a world of instability. Parenting was very much the responsibility of the family which contrasts with the institutionalization of children in school where responsibility is left to professionals. Adult attitudes revealed strict age boundaries which unambiguously demarcated the shift from child to adult which contrasted from the settled community where there are no clear markers,

> "Once you become 10 years old you are seen as a totally different role model in life. You have to basically get up and do things for yourself, you are not a child, and you are not a baby no more. (Gorjas) they are still swinging out of their mother's and father's bank accounts at 21-22 years old."

This was reflected in dress where girls changed from wearing pink and glitter to wearing miniature versions of adult dress. Being educated to become independent from a younger age has implications for secondary schooling where the statutory school leaving age is currently 16 with a proposed increase to 18.

Gender roles and the significance of family

Travellers often marry young and family life comes first. In the family traditional patterns were still very much forged on gender which young people tended to follow,

> "The man has a role and the woman has a role. In my eyes it's a bit like 1960 ways of life. The men go out and work to provide money for food and things like clothes for their children. (....) the men are the providers. Women are meant to look after the children, cook, clean and provide a nice home."

Gender roles reinforced a strong work ethic based on separate spheres which has enabled the community to survive. The women took great pride in the cleanliness of their homes. Descriptions of Gypsy Traveller men tended to be rooted in hegemonic masculinity with qualities like physical toughness being valued. The focus was very much on the man taking responsibility for his family and this was taken very seriously,

> "If a man can't get up off his computer and stop playing on the games all day and on facebook all day and on the play station and all the game boys and go out and provide money for a living for his family then he may as well go kill himself to be honest."

These gender roles gave a clear and proud sense of identity but this asymmetry had deep roots within the community and distribution of power was unequal. Men are viewed as "much higher than a woman" and gendered power relations shaped all relationships and structured daily life. Incidents of domestic violence were prevalent but were accepted as normal, "women are very isolated and won't ask for help. I have seen the cycle repeat itself over and over again. Many women are not realising what is domestic violence". Women had often suffered for prolonged periods and talking about suffering abuse was stigmatising. Divorce is extremely rare in the community as Travellers have traditional views on marriage and a woman leaving would be ostracised by her community.

The significance of gendered power relations seeps through all levels of social interaction and some demonstrate the possibility of multiple positions and alternatives which bring resistance. For instance, in online discourse on a social networking site,

> "Boys Are Like A Deck Of Cards, You Need A Heart To Love Them, A Diamond To Marry Them, A Club To Smash Their Head In, And A Spade To Bury Them ☺
> your husband is limping around bleeding outside what do you do....?
> stay calm take a second reload aim FIRE!!"

Here the use of humour demonstrates some resistance to gender inequalities in interactions with men in the form of counter-positioning. By creating and making visible an aggressive female identity, some transgression of gender roles is achieved.

Men tend to follow traditional employment options like scrap metal but the problem is these traditional types of work are not so easily available. As such life is one of uncertainty requiring adaptable identities, "You have got to think about your children, because when they grow up the world is not going to be like it is now, it is going to be harder. Travelling life is going to change". This brings about ambiguous views. In one sense the future is education since it is necessary to adapt to cope with modern life and a changing economic climate. But this is an instrumental goal rather than an aim rooted in improving individual talents, aspirations or personal fulfillment. Education simply is not viewed as developing individual potential. Rather education as a concept is seen as irrelevant and meaningless for many, mainly because it is associated with assimilation to the detriment of one's cultural identity.

The changing nature of Gypsy Traveller identity

There was evidence of change within the community although this was often achieved at some personal cost. For the older generation there was the feeling that the old way of life was being threatened through a general breakdown in cultural values and beliefs which were a great source of pride. Although the majority of women do not work, there is some sign that women's roles are changing. The inclusion worker was from the community and lived on the site. When she began her role she at first faced resistance from other women who implied that working in a professional role would be at the detriment of her domestic duties,

> "….they would say, *how come you can work I don't know how you do it? I don't know how you see to your children?* And I would say, *well simple as, my children won't want for anything. (...)* It was a bit of jealousy, because the women think, *well how can K. do that? She has got four children and family,*

a house to clean; how does she do it? To be honest with you I do it because if I didn't I would go mental."

Within the community women's responsibilities towards home and family weighed over gaining employment or career aspirations and the satisfaction this might bring. K. had undergone some internal rebellion to undertake the position as at first it felt like abandoning her community,

"So she said, *I could really do with a person like you*, so I said to her, *my reading and writing is crap but I will help you*. She said, *no I need you to start working with me properly and get paid for it*. So I said, *well no not really because we are not allowed to work*. (...) I said, *honestly, no matter how much money you offer me I am not going to come out of my culture for any organisation*."

Initial trepidation was combated to some extent by the fact she worked for a community led organisation,

"But then I saw what they were doing and I thought *well maybe if I mix that in with the culture*. Keep the culture, you can still keep the culture and this is one thing we have to learn as travelling women. You can still keep your culture and work, although other women don't think that."

She obtained job satisfaction because her work was suited to her interests. K. herself provided a valuable resource for her community, not only through the role she performed as inclusion worker, but through exposing other women within her community to the possibility of having a career.

To a large extent undertaking structured learning or training meant becoming a *Gorja* (person of the settled community). S. had taken the choice to enter higher education in his late 20s. His motivation was to follow an interest in music. A Gypsy or Traveller person with a higher education is rare. But while S. did not define himself as an unconventional Traveller man he was viewed as a Gorja by his community. He had the stance of someone who does what feels right rather than what is expected of him. As such his path could be viewed through a capability and resilience framework where personal qualities of autonomy.

Policy context is currently failing Gypsy Traveller children

We must pay attention to the institutions and codes that define the particular local and national context which works to limit Gypsys and Travellers**.** The rationale to justify the government's "Every Child Matters" framework is one of equity, that all children and young people have a democratic right to be healthy, stay safe, enjoy and achieve make a positive contribution and achieve economic

well being. Education is a key component of this but at the root is poverty and one must turn to local level to explore how this fails in practice.

A primary context is that of living conditions, where policy has worked to physically and socially separate Gypsy and Travellers from the mainstream. In this particular city the community was housed on two adjacent sites. The first site initially housed twenty families and a second site was built a few years later. Residents did not want the second site to be built so close as they felt it was too big and unsettling. However it is directly next to the original site so in practice it amounts to one large authorized site. The site is situated in a very remote and isolated location on the outskirts of the city, close to a motorway in an industrial area with problems of traffic pollution. Basically it is an area where no one else would want to live. Residents cannot access mainstream services without a car. There are no shops within walking distance. The community is therefore placed on the margins separated from the rest of the city. Physically, since it represents disorder, the site is hidden from public view. It is approached via a long winding drive which obscures the trailers. It can therefore be seen as constituting a process of containment and exclusion. The site currently consists of over 41 pitches. Residents provide their own trailers or chalets which are situated on pitches. The overall site is self funded through rents collected from residents. At the time of the study residents were paying £170 a week in rent which is more than local authority housing. Technically the rent is a pitch fee and on top of this, residents pay gas, water, electricity and all other charges. The perception is that these are also substantially more expensive than the rates people in local authority housing pay. Overall the benefits trap is perceived as a particular issue within this community which provides severely constraining circumstances. As one interviewee commented, "It's a poverty trap" which was defined by the means testing of social benefits which culminated in strong economic incentives discouraging paid employment. Simply put living on the site is not affordable for those not on full housing benefit, "When I got my job I wasn't earning enough to keep the plot on and I was in arrears for the first time in thirty years. The city council advised me to give up my job". Labour inclusion is intrinsically linked to social participation and citizenship. It implies empowerment by being involved in public life but the way the benefits system works in practice reinforces a cycle of benefit dependency among the Gypsy Traveller community.

Social exclusion among the community stems mainly from feeling trapped on a site where no one else would want to live. The layout of the site is poor with a lack of adequate accomodation and basic amenities. It is overcrowded and residents feel "packed in like sardines". Over a hundred children live on site that are equipped with a "play area" which in practice consists of a large empty tarmaced space. There are no communal facilities. Power structures social relations through the site's architecture. At the entrance of the site there is an office, which is not for

residents' use but is solely for the use of managers. This is very visible and functions like a panoptic structure. The manager can see who enters and who leaves the site. On one occasion he exerted power by refusing entry to a photography student who had come to work with residents on a project because he did not know who she was. As such it feels like the site managers rather than the residents that run the site. The lived dynamics of living on the site and control of social space is epitomized by a large rock outside the office which has been graffiti-ed with the word "war".

The fieldwork site in Northcity.

The constraints of a panoptic structure stretched further out than living on the site. There was considerable tension and distrust of the police, "No policemen's good. They're not there as… they make conflict". Complaints were targeted at one police officer in particular,

> "He's proper 1960s. The way he goes on, he's like Hitler. *You're shit and I'm it*. That's the sort of man he is. (…) Why don't you think the CCTV equipment works? I think it's fucked. They've done something to the equipment. (...) You have to be sly. You have to have people in high places."

A Gypsy liaison officer had been employed to build wider awareness and understanding of the community and promote good relations but he rarely came on site. This was mainly because his role was treated with some contempt within the organization, "He's getting stick from his colleagues". Overall the site is fenced off from the rest of society by metal fences which make you feel enclosed. In one respondents' words,

> "It is an acre of land with a shed and it is like Beirut. It is an eye opener. You would think what are these people doing to be living on here? It is not that we are blind; it is not that we have nowhere else to go, but it is either that or basically the roadside, getting moved up and down 24/7."

Although living conditions on the site are poor, families living on the roadside face worse conditions. They are evicted on average every two weeks and have no basic infrastructure such as a water supply and sanitation. The poverty trap arises when different forms of deprivation are connected. The lack of education and qualifications within the community result in unstable job opportunities which limit regular financial income. This is reflected in the poor quality of accommodation which in turn results in depression and poor health. Together this creates a constraining environment which puts Gypsy Travellers in a poor position to take equal advantage of social and economic opportunities.

Ambiguous perspectives on education

For many from this community, as a result of limited knowledge of what schooling entailed as well as doing without it for so long, education simply was not viewed as having an instrumental value. Discussion with community members did not emphasise the narrow 5 A*-C GCSE attainment target concerns that drive much policy. Rather education meant actively promoting a better image of Gypsys and Travellers and challenging stereotypes. This was not one sided but was framed as a process of mutual integration, "it's about educating Traveller people and Gorjas alike".

Only a few Gypsy Traveller children and young people were in secondary school at the time of the research. Some young people had home education but this was only for a couple of hours a week. A number of reasons were given for young people's non participation. There were examples of tensions stemming from a culture clash between home and school. Traveller pupils were often found to respond to racist name-calling by fighting back, which teachers tended to attribute to behaviour problems rather than recognising it as a racist incident,

> "I remember getting called gypsies by other school pupils and me sticking up for myself. And I am the one seen as being violent because I was sticking up for myself. (…) If you are telling them one thing and the school is telling them another thing then what do you do? We don't have bullying and that is one thing; our community doesn't like bullies, our community will go up to the bullies…I will be straight and honest with you we will go up to the bullies, we will go and get people. (…) Because we were always taught don't wait for anyone to be the victim, don't be the victim, do not be the victim, if you want to be anyone then you get up there and you give it back to them, don't you ever be a victim. We were never allowed to go home and say, *mum, dad this boy hurt me*, you were never allowed to say that".

Racist bullying has tended to become normalised as a "white against black" problem in schools and elsewhere. As such racism against whiteness is not acknowledged. Parents' own negative experiences with school provokes social distancing in the present day for their own children,

> "Even now I don't blame my own children. I know my children and so I don't believe their teachers sometimes because of the experience of my own education. I know if my child is lying and I know when he is telling the truth and I am sorry to say but if my child tells me something. And the teacher is saying something I will believe my child."

This was not helped by perceptions that attention received from school was negative "...they were contacting me that many times, *he is not doing this right; he is not doing that right...* I was sick of them contacting me to be honest with you". Memories of school were rooted in experiences of attending schools with very low proportions of Gypsy Traveller children. These experiences had tended to emphasise ethnic "difference" separating them from the "normal",

> "Travelling children I do not think get as much encouragement from schools when they are in education. I felt very much excluded from school when I was young and I feel this is still the case today. They don't feel like they are being made welcome and feel left out. When I first went to school I was taught in a separate classroom from the other children. This I think made it harder for myself and the rest of my cousins to fully communicate with the other children in school and outside in the play ground."

Specific structures such as specific classes or "outreach workers" or "inclusion workers" were being used but most were ineffective because of the patronizing tone these took, "No one knows the people better than ourselves. ...the workers are not travelling people and they don't fetch travelling people in". Previous and current policy frameworks have had a negative impact and built a wall which continued into adulthood. One man who returned to college in his late twenties continued to feel isolated within a single large institution.

> "...a few people found out I was a Gypsy. That was when all the typical stupid questions started. When some of my lecturers found out I was a Gypsy they definitely acted different towards me. I didn't receive as much encouragement as I did before they found out... and it was like they lost interest in what I was trying to do"

The Gypsy Traveller community is very child centred and very protective towards their children and extremely concerned about moral welfare. This brings about anxieties about the impact of social mixing in school. School with the presence

of other children presents risky terrain for a number of reasons. Confrontation with a wider social mix could have negative effects on children's behaviour,

> "You put two children together; one gypsy and one from a council estate and that gypsy child will talk like that council estate child within a week. (...) the language of the children that do go to school is like, for example, *dickheads* is a big no go area, you just don't say *dickhead* in our community, it is totally disrespectful (...) it is a horrible language".

Attending school meant cultural beliefs were compromised. Gender codes were compromised by school trips for instance and the teaching of sex education within school clashed with the cultural belief that teenagers should not be sexually active. There was also a sense of resentment about having to conform to the compulsory nature of schooling which imposes institutional rules which lay in direct contrast to the freedom of choice the community.

Finally parents suffered a lack of confidence in keeping track of their children's work:

> "I am very supportive of his education and I want to make sure that he is educated (...) Why would you give a child big boxes of homework to bring home when he is struggling with his homework. I just write on the letter *too hard, my child cannot do this*. (...) Do you think I can read or write? Do you think I can do miracles? I am only barely starting myself do you know what I mean? I am not confident, I can do it but I am not confident, you need more confidence."

Parents' attitudes are crucial to determining interactions with schools.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This study has showed how non-participation in education is complex and multidimensional and related to a broad range of factors. This brings about a number of implications for policy and practice. First site provision is a central issue which needs improving. The provision of good, safe and secure accommodation with facilities is viewed as one essential which would go some way to ease tensions. Second is to allow the community to decide for themselves what is appropriate to their needs. Parental engagement is vital and the provision of a community led education would go some way to encourage more parents to become more involved. Recognising the ways in which the community has been marginalised, the aims should be transparent: Escaping the poverty trap, becoming economically productive and socially connected.

Formal education provision simply is not working for this community and an alternative curriculum is required to engage learners which relates to their own lives. This could be achieved through a flexible curriculum which reflects Traveller culture, history and lifestyle. A strong focus on remembering and sharing is empowering since it ensures culture is recognised, celebrated, valued and accepted. Expanding upon this there should be career development activities which specifically recognise that Gypsy Travellers have been successful in entering a range of professions and occupations.

Finally there is a wealth of experience and skills within the Gypsy Traveller community which are not formally acknowledged through qualifications. Despite the potential skill base, the reality is that insufficient education within the community causes difficulties in accessing employment. Encouraging more people from the community to work in schools serving areas where there is a Gypsy Traveller presence would go some way to tackling negative stereotypes, and bridging the gap with a supportive mentoring programme would be valuable. In the current context of cuts in local and central government funding the future for creative and innovative approaches to these issues are highly constrained, and future prospects for improving everyday life for this community are poor.

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ANTECEDENTS, POSSIBILITIES AND PROSPECTS OF RESEARCH OF THE PRESENT (EXCERPTS FROM THE WORK AND PLANS OF THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY OF THE H.A.S.)

BALÁZS BALOGH

ABSTRACT

The necessity of constantly renewing the various academic disciplines is a basic truth, which is even more valid for ethnography. The social transformations ensuing from changes in European societies, the ever more rapid dissolution of peasantry, acculturation and globalization by necessity spur the discipline to changes in theoretical approach and methodological renewal so that it may be able to interpret all such new social processes and phenomena. The essay gives a glimpse into the main recent avenues of inquiry and research topics occurring within the Institute of Ethnology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Keywords: Present Research, Regional Research, Social Analysis, Local Societies, Roma Population, Urban Ethnography.

My paper concentrates primarily on research occurring within the Institute of Ethnology of the HAS, presenting in excerpts, so to speak, the main experiences that may be distilled from the work- and planning reports. Not every research topic for which we can expect studies from the researchers can be covered in detail: only a sketch of the main avenues of inquiry and research topics of a comprehensive nature can be undertaken.[1]

1. THE ROLE OF RESEARCH OF THE PRESENT IN THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL RENEWAL

The necessity of constantly renewing the various academic disciplines is a basic truth, which is even more valid for ethnography as well. The social transformation ensuing from the change in European societies, the ever more rapid

[1] I note here that I attempt not to mention names in connection with the studies cited (in keeping with the decades-old traditions of the Academy's planning reports).

dissolution of the peasantry, acculturation and globalization by necessity spur our discipline to changes in theoretical approach and methodological renewal so that it may be able to interpret new social processes and phenomena as well.[2]

Although ethnographic examination of contemporary phenomena contemporary in outlook and approach is not without precedent in Hungary,[3] it is undeniable that research has been aimed primarily at the study of historical processes. However, the choice of researching the past or the present cannot be an exclusive one for ethnography. The encounter and the fullest possible combined realization of the two research approaches plays a key role in the renewal of the discipline. Contemporary examination can form a much more detailed and nuanced picture, and can record numerous features that historical research would not be able to uncover. At the same time the advantages offered by historical research are also indisputable: the possibility of a broader perspective inherent in temporal distance, the multiplicity of sources increasing with the passage of time, etc.[4] The two-way attractive-repulsive force affecting the past and present orientation[5] of today's ethnographic research in fortunate cases may be combined, since with the passage of time the present to be examined will eventually become a part of history. It is a question, therefore, of a peculiar "historical present," in which the researcher exploits that advantage of researching the present: that the time of the examination coincides with the time of the phenomenon under examination (thereby its observation and documentation is richer in information), while at the same time also utilizing the indispensible "background" knowledge accumulated by historical research. Examination of contemporary phenomena observable in the present must lead to the knowledge of the given society as context, and they must be interpreted as an organic part of historical processes.[6] Research of the present becomes the unavoidable point of reference for later historical research. This simultaneously synchronic and diachronic outlook, which also views the present as a temporal plane rapidly becoming past, is a virtue fitting into the trend of European ethnography and a feature that strikingly distinguishes it from the way other disciplines (anthropology, sociology) approach their subject of inquiry. (Among the institute's researchers Attila Paládi-Kovács[7] and Miklós Szilágyi[8] have already formulated guidelines on this subject, thus the emphasis can be not on the novelty of the approach but rather its application as a guiding principle.)

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[2] Balogh–Borsos (www.matud.iif.hu/06jul/06.html, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[3] Fejős (http://www.neprajz.hu/tartalom.php?menu2=57, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[4] Kósa (www.valosagonline.hu/index.php?oldal=cikk&cazon=216&lap=0, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[5] Kósa (www.hik.hu/tankonyvtar/site/books/b53/ch06s05s02.html, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[6] In relation to the anthropological approach, Péter Niedermüller arrives at a similar opinion but takes a basic stance against ethnography. (http://www.c3.hu/scripta/scripta0/replika/1314/nieder.htm, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[7] Paládi-Kovács (www.mta.hu/nytud/Paladiszekf.rtf, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[8] Szilágyi 2007.

Thus, with the disintegration of peasant society research of the present has seen its role increase in value. Moreover, effective methods of field work (questionnaires, interview types, biographical, genealogical and narrative research, etc.) previously developed during the research into mainly the rural and agricultural population (which, although socially complex, was simply labeled peasant in popular opinion) represent a substantial "capital" in the hands of ethnography. The companion sciences are now beginning to master these refined methods of discovery. These include historiography, where the history of everyday life, history from below, and biographical research using narrative analysis have only recently become the means of renewal for historical science. Equipped with the above-mentioned approach and methods, ethnology had earlier turned to an examination of social strata that cannot be called peasant (urban, noble, industrial, mercantile, worker). This research must by all means be continued and extended to group research that has come about as a result of the transformation of the social structure of the recent past, since the organization of any social strata, groups tied to settlement type, workplace or institution, ranks, or cultural and generational subgroups may be examined with the above methods. The research perspective that previously concentrated mainly on peasant culture and society is transformed into a complex perspective seeking to grasp the whole of society. Thus, through its more than two decades of experience (the bulk of which is grounded precisely in historical research), Hungarian ethnography possesses numerous results, methods and theoretical considerations which make it capable of analyzing so-called "traditional" peasant society and culture not only in the strict sense, which today is rather only derived.[9] Such a possibility is socio-ethnographic research of the present renewed by certain elements of the methodological and theoretical experiences of sociology, ecology, anthropology and other disciplines as well.

2. THE ROLE OF THE HAS INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY IN RESEARCHING THE PRESENT, METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The most important attribute of the socio-ethnographic research of the Institute of Ethnology is the deepening of the complex analysis of local societies in the present. In this effort the institute can rely on its own 20-30 years of research experience, pioneering in its time, while it has an outlook on contemporary analyses ongoing simultaneously at other institutions, but of a different type. With regard to the study of present-day local societies the choice of topics at the Institute of Ethnology is the most variegated. Research of the present taking place at the various university departments (Szeged, Pécs, Kolozsvár, Debrecen etc.) are generally directed at a special theme (for example, popular religiosity, intercultural

[9] Kósa (http://72.14.203.104/search?q=cache:5RN-uZx-fukJ:epa.oszk.hu/00000/00033/00011/palyakep.htm+jelenk, retrieved 12/19/2008).

communication,[10] research on the Csángós[11] etc.), while other institutions and research groups (e.g. KAM, Public Endowment for Minority Research) carry out their research in a largely regionally delimited area.[12] Certain institutions seize upon the ethnic-minority aspect of research of the present (for example, the Institute of Ethnic and National Minority Research of the HAS, László Teleki Institute).[13] Cooperation among institutions may be aided by the MaDok program[14] taking place at the Museum of Ethnography; based mainly on Swedish antecedents,[15] it strives to document with the tools of the museum and empirically analyze the material world.

This brief overview indicates merely the narrow-focused thematic orientation of the associate institutions. Research into the multilayered reality of the present, however, offers endless possibilities and may uniquely aid a better understanding of its interdependencies through the particular methods of ethnography. Above all, it is the research tools of social ethnography (stationed field work, participant observation, deep interviews, etc.) that are suitable for helping ethnographers to carry out detailed explorations at the level of small communities and the individual; based on the analysis and interpretation of the micro-level social changes thus discovered, they make macro-level processes more understandable as well.

It is an essential – until now not explicitly articulated – expectation that the institute strives to ensure that the knowledge accumulated by ethnography be directly utilized at the social and economic level as well.

3. THE MAIN DIRECTIONS OF RESEARCH OF THE PRESENT OF THE HAS INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY[16]

3.1. Two pioneering works prepared by researchers at the Institute of Ethnology remain exemplary research into the present to the present day: monographic volumes on the society and folklore respectively of two villages in

[10] Feischmidt (http://www.maya.btk.pte.hu/kom/b/data/IFOR.asp, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[11] Pozsony (http://www.kjnt.ro/in.php?q=cHJvamVrdGVr&i=NA==, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[12] Just a few examples: Bíró (www.topnet.ro/wac/newsh.htm, retrieved 12/19/2008); Bodor (http://72.14.203.104/search?q=cache:M2qp8m7nWpoJ:www.deldunantul.com/lang_change.php%3Flanguage%3D2%26url%3Dindex.php%253Fid%253D2438%2526PHPSESSID%253D515aaa35ab452ca096a2dbb90e70697a+jelenkutatas&hl=en&gl=us&ct=clnk&cd=4, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[13] A few exemplary studies, e.g., *A magyarországi cigány népesség helyzete a 21. század elején* (http://www.mtaki.hu/kutatasi_programok/, retrieved 12/19/2008), or *Paradox integráció: határ menti gazdasági és társadalmi kapcsolatok 1990 után és Magyarország EU integrációja előtt* (http://www.telekiintezet.hu/kozep/kutatas/kutatas03.asp, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[14] Fejős (http://www.neprajz.hu/tartalom.php?menu2=57, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[15] Szabó (http://www3.umu.se/kultmed/kurswebb/upload/kursplaner/831.pdf, retrieved 01/27/2007).

[16] In accordance with the subtitle, here I will not detail research conducted by individuals of the institute, but I can only undertake to sketch the main avenues of inquiry and research topics of a comprehensive nature.

northern Hungary, Varsány[17] and Nógrádsipek.[18] The authors of both books explicitly strove to employ new criteria, to capture the social changes characteristic mostly of the 1970s and their cultural projection.[19] Actually, decades-long field-work ongoing since then analyzes the actual course of the shift from the socialist system to civic democracy based on a market economy, its social impact and its effect on the mentality of the village population in selected settlements in various regions of the country. This is lent particular significance by the fact that research carried out in the individual settlements 20-30 years ago may be repeated using new scholarly approaches and tools (re-study), and socio-cultural processes thereby become explorable in depth as well. Continuity and change, tradition and modernization: these are the key concepts around which the investigations are organized. The geographically and typologically differing local societies represent various models of economic and social change; research centers on questions analyzing the role of earlier economic strategies in the Hungarian countryside's current search for a way out of its plight, as well as those researching how local traditions are revived or re-evaluated and patterns of modernization followed. The ever-widening research follows life and adaptation strategies of individuals and local communities, new types of community organization, questions of local and ethnic identity and the relationship between local politics and the central authority.[20] These examinations embrace three temporal planes: they concentrate on processes that occurred in the period of socialism, changes in relation to this following the change of regime, and the consequences of joining the European Union detectable at the level of local societies. Every three to four years, in conferences open to the entire profession, the institute summarizes its research on social and economic processes of rural communities since the change of regime, the materials of which are published in a joint series with the Center for Social Research of the HAS.

Thus, the institute is conducting research on both (post-)peasant traditions and farming and survival strategies along several lines. In addition to conducting these examinations it is worthwhile to enrich the criteria of the research so that we may capture the more hidden aspects of the social reality of the change of regime, such as areas of the reproduction of disadvantages, the persistence of redistribution and generational conflicts. Uncovering mental manifestations of spiritual burdens caused by the change of regime (nostalgia, frustration, violation of norms etc.) by means of ethnographic field work represents a further task.

3.2. Connected in part to the above, we may rightly expect that the folklore-based re-study of Nógrádsipek may provide methodological lessons. The analyses

[17] Bodrogi 1978.
[18] Szemerkényi 1980.
[19] Kósa (www.hik.hu/tankonyvtar/site/books/b53/ch06s04.html, retrieved 12/19/2008).
[20] Balogh–Borsos (www.matud.iif.hu/06jul/06.html, retrieved 12/19/2008).

carried out 30 years ago and published in an extensive volume presented the folklore trove of a typical, "average" Hungarian village in the 1970s. In the wake of profound social changes of the period since, obviously today a completely different understanding of folklore is to be found in Nógrádsipek, and such an analysis of change may shed light on the hidden lines and internal dynamisms of the transformation. A similar re-study occurred in the recent past in Varsány, the socio-anthropological lessons of which could almost certainly be correlated with the results of the planned Nógrádsipek study. It would be practical if in addition to colleagues in the Folklore Department members of the Socio-ethnographic Department would also take part in the re-study.

The present paper tries to outline first and foremost the socio-ethnographic tasks of research of the present. Yet because contemporary phenomena cannot be rigidly separated, it is therefore to be noted in any case that in addition to examining historical layers of the various folklore genres and philological analysis of their texts, the description and interpretation of folklore phenomena of the present day are indispensible. Besides the well-known genres of folk poetry, ethnography must record how people today narrate beyond personal life stories, the past happenings of the family, as well as the closer and wider community (homeland), how they interpret these, in what temporal perspectives they see and in what context they place their own history and that of their community.[21]

3.3. Because of nationalisms that have gained strength in recent decades,[22] research into the present of ethnic and linguistic communities of various levels (including nations, national minorities, diasporas and religious denominations) has acquired heightened significance.[23] Interest in regional and local cultures is only likely to increase as a consequence of the information explosion of our times, and the mixing of educations and confrontations stemming from this. This question applies with particular significance to the geographically and politically divided Hungarian population, in whose case continued division and disintegration are typical, at the same time, integration phenomena may also be observed.[24] The importance of regional research is furthermore justified by the significant disparity in modernization among regions in Central Europe.

With regard to the above, socio-ethnographic research under way beyond the borders – which examine first and foremost Transylvanian communities – is supplemented by comprehensive diaspora research that takes an interdisciplinary approach. The project, commenced jointly with the Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities of the HAS, attempts to elaborate an action strategy for

[21] I would like to thank Ágnes Szemerkényi and Ildikó Landgraf for useful consultations on the subject.

[22] Kósa (www.hik.hu/tankonyvtar/site/books/b53/ch06s05s02.html, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[23] Paládi-Kovács (www.mta.hu/nytud/Paladiszekf.rtf, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[24] Kósa (www.hik.hu/tankonyvtar/site/books/b53/ch06s05s02.html, retrieved 12/19/2008).

cultural preservation and revitalization, that may mean concrete assistance for local decision-makers as well as the church and education. The social gravity of the diaspora question is indicated by the fact that more than half of the Hungarians in Transylvania live in a diaspora situation. And the diaspora problem does not cease, because the Hungarian diaspora is regenerated: with dwindling population numbers, communities living on the margins in territories once belonging to the Hungarian ethnic bloc find themselves in a diaspora situation. It is an important development at the start of the 21st century that new perspectives in treating Hungarian minority and diaspora problems are opening in the neighboring countries, some of which are about to join the EU and are participating in European integration at various levels. We can only take advantage of the new possibilities if we form a conception grounded in scholarly theory of the above issue, on which experts in other disciplines and economic sectors may also rely. It is hoped that the volumes published on the subject in English and Hungarian and funded by the HAS presidential budget may hopefully aid this.[25]

3.4. Research into the Roma population of the Carpathian Basin currently under way at the Institute of Ethnography may be grouped into two categories: first, the examination of subsistence strategies, consumption practices and value preferences characteristic of the Roma, which often display significant divergences by region or group; second, treatment of the various folklore genres, as well as analysis of the connection between oral and written literature and their peculiarities. The results of the above research may contribute to an acceleration of the Roma's integration into society and the labor market as well as to a better understanding of cultural otherness, which is an indispensible precondition for preventing and effectively handling interethnic conflicts.[26]

3.5. Basing itself on earlier individual research, a plan of research is taking shape that assesses the situation of generations and asserts common/agreed upon criteria. Within this framework participants in the research are able to examine the stratum cultures of children and youth (child-folklore, the subculture of youth), and continue – relying on the most thorough antecedents thus far – the study of the elderly in local societies. This research has increasing significance because we live in an aging society and the percentage of the elderly is growing steadily throughout Europe as well.

3.6. As a consequence of social transformation the significance of research in urban ethnography has also gained in value, and it will likely become one of the most pronounced research trends of the coming years.[27] There is no doubt that in

[25] Balogh–Ilyés 2006.; Balogh–Bodó–Ilyés 2007.

[26] I would like to thank Péter Berta for consultations on this topic.

[27] Paládi-Kovács (www.mta.hu/nytud/Paladiszekf.rtf, retrieved 12/19/2008).

this area Hungarian scholarship as a whole has great shortcomings. At the same time, we cannot forget that for decades socialist ideology definitively influenced the research milieu of this area of inquiry.[28] To remedy the deficiency as soon as possible, the Institute of Ethnography has called into its ranks experts whose main task is the research of city lifestyle, the society of industrial labor, and urban culture.[29] Around them is being organized a young research team dealing with questions of urban ethnography and worker and urban civic culture. Ethnographic methods may be applied extensively to research into new occupations, fashions, everyday urban life and urban customs as well, which international scholarship has proven with numerous outstanding investigations.

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[28] Kósa (www.hik.hu/tankonyvtar/site/books/b53/ch06s01s01.html, retrieved 12/19/2008).

[29] There has been ethnographic collecting for years in the district of Angyalföld, and since 2007 a Youth Research Fellow of the Academy has been examining the microcommunities of a region in suburban Pest.

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SONG OF SONGS – SIGN, SYMBOL, STRUCTURE

DANA-MELANIA BĂDIC

ABSTRACT

The article considers linguistic methods in translation of the *Song of Songs*, and is based on concepts and theories that come from applied linguistics. My own methodology employs textual criticism, emphasizing the linguistic commentary of the original text as well as Romanian translated versions and variants that were translated into other classical and modern languages. The language in which The *Song of Songs* was written aroused many polemics, mostly because of the presence of some terms which seem to derive from Persian or from Greek. In terms of love, we can notice a certain gradation according to the semantic updates within each occurrence; the plural "your loves" remains the most ambiguity-prone phrase. The present analysis discusses the semantic aspects of the text (because the imperative of the poems remains feverish and spectacular on a plan different from that of aesthetics, given by the simple relation between the element of order and the element of completion). It has to do with the adherence to a different "altitude" that does not belong to poetics (but crystallizes the miracle of love, shedding light both before and after the moral hierarchy), and the translation, but also certain features that belong to the internal linguistics of the text (morphology, syntax).

Keywords: Song of Songs, Love Symbols, Lexical Problems, Semantics, Interlinguistic Contact, Translation, Interpretation.

The poem travail (which calls for the steadfast gesture to summarize it, although not in profane devotion, thus refusing ad litteram carnal reception) was neither easy, nor always consistent (the feat is difficult in itself), considering the manner in which lush landscapes, the consciences, the innermost short-circuits, the venerable truth of the facts, Sulamita's maiden cheek, all "cohabit" in a stunning "togetherness". Over the ages various notions have cohabited regarding the *Song of Songs* (a poem of utter accuracy) instances of distancing, extravagant familiarities, concocted disputes, analogies, fulsome interpretations, fussy geniality, broken narrow-mindedness and submissive, lenient or deferential virtuosity. As the aquation remains a variable, it will allow for the existence of a plurality of perspectives.

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Most readers have felt the need to distinguish a love that is captive, concurrent, platonic, free, threatened, several types such as friendship-love, admiration-love, conjugal-love, supernatural-love, which is laboriously built on the edge of the impossible. Nobody can argue against the reality and legitimacy of these types of love. However, as repetition has the unfortuneble role of denying the sacred character, love succumbs in its own sublimity since it is being referred to all the time, whereas in the text that is being disscused it consolidates, it builds and is thus a repetition that does not annoy, but one that becomes a song.

"In the *Song of Songs*, a woman's voice celebrates the beauty of her lover, invites his caresses and rejoices in his love, in language that has become a major source of erotic poetry throughout Western and Middle Eastern literature"[1]. It may be noted that in this poem, which is rightfully included in the world heritage of love poetry, the overwhelming presence of concrete words is relevant on a semantic and interpretative plane in opposition to the only abstract notion, *love* (as regards love, we can notice a certain gradation according to the semantic updates within each occurrence; the plural "your loves" remains the most ambiguity-prone phrase, vacillating between concrete and abstract, virtual and factual).

But the imperative of the poems remains feverish and spectacular on a plane different from that of aesthetic measure (given by the simple relation between the element of order and the element of completion). It has to do with the adherence to a different "altitude" that does not belong to poetics, but crystallizes the miracle of love, shedding light both before and after the winged and primordial rmoral hierachy.

In the attempt to understand the text of *Shir Ha-Shirim* (שיר השירים, Αισμα ασματων, Canticum Canticorum) there is much more that must be remembered.

I refer specifically to *moznei lashon hakodesh*, creating equilibrium of the holy language, a language both old and new, paradoxical, extremely rich, which reflects a mode of living. It is well known that Hebrew stems from the family of Semitic-Hamitic languages[2]. These are flexural languages, in which the grammatical values are sometimes expressed through alternations of vowels. Most of the consonants are based on the use of larynx (the emphatic ones require a constriction of the larynx zone; the verbal and the nominal forms are obtained by an internal flexion). These languages have a consonant alphabet, the letters compose the root (usually composed of three consonants) or the basis of the word. Contrary to the consonants, the long or short vowels play a secondary role; we find them in a limited number of schemas and they enable the expression of grammatical links, which may be nominal, verbal or non nominal, or non verbal,

[1] Cf. Alicia Suskin Ostriker in *The Defiant Muse: Hebrew Feminist Poems from Antiquity to the Present*.

[2] Cornițescu–Abrudan 1996; Rădulescu–Sala 1981.

depending on their combinatory possibilities. The verbal schemas use pronominal suffixes, including the active and the passive voices, the tenses and the modes. Most of the nominal schemas are lexicalized. The non nominal and non verbal schemas are combined with prepositions and with personal nouns.

The Hebrew language was developed throughout the various periods of history: the Biblical, the Mishnaic, the medium Hebrew and neo Hebrew, born during the Illumination period. Modern Hebrew, Ivrit, was founded by E. Ben Yehuda. The term *Hebrew* – professor Cornițescu said – refers to Abraham, the Jewish patriarch who passed over the Euphrates River; the radical term עבר signifies – everybody knows – someone from the other side, who passes from one side to the other. This term refers to the Holy language only from the 2nd century B.C., where it appears in the prolog of the Greek book *The Wisdom of Jesus Sirah*. Some opinions hold that the word עבר with this meaning is mentioned only in the Mishna, in the second century, B.C.

The language in which The *Song of Songs* was written aroused many polemics, mostly because of the presence of some terms which seem to derive from Persian (*pardes* = *orchard*) or from the Greek (אפריון from φορειον = "palanquin").

In *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, J. Guitton and G. Pouget (1934) analyze the poem's lexicon. From a philological point of view, they find in *Shir Ha-Shirim*: the Aramaic שלי used to emphasize the Genitive; נצר,נטר (1,6) means "to preserve", "to guard". In other places, it means "to retain fury". איכה is translated generally as "in which way" (*Deuteronomy* 1,12) or "by how" (*Isaiah* 1,21; in the text 1,7) it means "where", "to which place"; ש is translated as „because", ברות "cypress" (1,17) as ברוש, חרנם as "bars"; כתלנו as "our wall" (2,9); סתו (2,9) as "winter"; פגה (2,13) as "figue", סמדר (2,13,15) as "flowers"; אחזי (3,8) is a past participle with an active meaning; רסיס (5,2) as "dew", טנף (5,3) as "to become dirty" and אמן (7,2) as "an artist".

In the poem, we are introduced to expressions which will not appear in later Hebrew, such as: איככה (5,3) cf. *Esther* 8,6 for "why, what,how"; גליל (5,14) cf. *Esther* 1,6 for "a circle", a "ring"; שיש (5,15) for "alabaster"; the apocopate relative form ש for שאשר Terms with Greek origin also appear such as: כפר (1,14) from κυπρος = "cypress"; פרדס (4,3) which is not related to Persian, but to the Greek word (παραδεισος); כרכם (4,14) from κροκος.

The authors affirm that *Septuagint*a uses κροκος for כרכם because the "samech"– ס was used instead of "mem sofit"– ם. Pouget and Guitton use these explanations in order to attribute the poem to the Northern Kingdoms, and hence, to the Hellenistic influence. References are made to canonicity (from *Mishnah-Yadaim* 3,5 we understand that the acceptance of this book into the canon was not an easy one), to the poetry of the *Old Testament* in general (שיר, מזמור, קינה,

תהלה or משל), to the Biblical hermeneutics and exegesis, to the author and the date of writing and to the book inspiration. (Cocerning the latter, the existence of the שלהבתיה or Yahweh's flame was perfectly demonstrated by Irineu, by Theophile from Antiochia and by Origen in *Adversus Harese*, *Ad Autolycum*, *De Principiis*; these authors expressed themselves in a bright and concise way.)

One may understand by *havot halevavot* (the soul's duties) whatever one chooses. Perhaps, facing a sublime text, the most suitable attitude should be silence. Yet, how can we be patient if we mention: the Sun Trinity giving birth (the seminal print, the glacier of ideas, the Holy Sun), the bride's first victory, marked by her lamentation, the transfiguration and the eternal command: ואהבתה (included also in the prayer שמע), the awakening, heart's attention, the religious people's power of judgement (surely helped by a strong will), the happiness that God himself spoke to us and revealed to the great truths, all that we need; and, taking care of this inner Sun, this endless light, man will hope for the promised wedding.

This text was analyzed again and again. Compared to the other books included in the canon of the *Old Testament* (the מקראי הקדש or "The Holy Books"), the *Song of Songs* was seldom considered difficult ("The nondifficile" doesn't worth, said P. Valéry). It will be an error to limit the text to the simple narration of a love story. *The Song of Songs* is a quiet blossom, an absolutely complete written text, containing a constriction imposed by the general harmony on the finite world.

The crash, the wave, the reflection, the search – all are different forms of the Dyonisiac elan, transposed into poetic form, which mark the cultivated origin of this poem.

In the poem, the sounds meet the numbers, the universe appears as Orphic and a high suspended kingdom of words is created for ever. The two kinds of lecture – as a text or as a message – have generated inferences which have to be elucidated. Furthermore, the meanings don't superimpose; rather, they exist in different spheres.

In my opinion, the *Song* can be understood in two fundamental ways: the archaeological one (versus the *Song*) and the recuperative one (bringing the *Song* to us). If we consider the second way, we may say today that we are dealing with a poem whose substance is hermetic, whose initiative sense is pindaric, and whose "noisiness" make it orfic. Even a deep analysis of the *Song of Songs*' print (the repetition in the title has a superlative value) causes unrest. It is King Salomon's (970-931 B.C.) poem, who, according to tradition (*II Kings* 5,12), wrote a thousand and five poems.

I am not sure whether to deal with the informative or with the influencing side of the poem. My purpose is to elucidate a chapter from a text considered to be a revealed one, by both Jewish and Christian traditions. The text has what may be called λογια ζοντα – the words of life; the word's role seems to be the result of a

fight between the semiotics of lexical entities and the semantics of the phrase. We shall try to see if, together with the literal or the allegoric meaning, an analogic or spiritual one (a hidden meaning) may also be observed.

Maurice Cocagnac once remarked that when we refer to holy texts, the symbol is "the flesh of the language"[3]. The symbol has been widely discussed. Max Schlesinger has collected rich material not only for a sake of history, but in order to put in relief the symbols conceptual configuration. For Friedrich Creuzer "the symbol has to know the expansion toward the infinite and the exit from limits; in this way, it will either have a mystical character or it will become the symbol of the divine". He shows us the symbol's traits – instantaneity, wholeness, indispensability, impenetrability – raising it to the highest level. "With this unique word are marked the Divine's manifestation and the transfiguration of the terrestrial image"[4]. For Goethe, the symbol indicates the universality and incompressibility, for Theodor Vischer, Ernst Cassirer, Erwin Panofsky and others, it stands for other things.

I've attempted a textual analysis of the first chapter. My aim was to produce both, the most adequate translation, and especially the analysis of the semantic aspects of the biblical text and the way in which they are reproduced in other translations, as well as the analysis of the parts belonging to the internal linguistics of the text. Hopefully, the comparative study of these variants will help to clarify the most important and controversial aspects of the text – semantics and style – in its movement from a basic language to a target one. (The text indicates a mobile world, a tension between chaos and parallelism, a syntagmatic projection of a network of paradigmical links.)

Surely, those readers who analyze this text literally and consider it merely a simple, profane love song, are against the poem being included within the canonic text. *The Song of Songs* is a concentrated poem, full of codes; it describes an unclear, mosaic, essentialist, pure world. The poem proposes a true spiritual adventure and generates a fertile confusion, sometimes delivering a clear message, other times an obscure one. The elucidation of the poem requires synergy, and is the common work of man and God. Rabbi Akivah wrote: "If all books of the Bible are holy, then the *Song of Songs* is the Holy of Holies, and the entire universe was created only for the day in which we received it" (*Talmud Iadaim*, ch.3). The great Akivah intended to say that "life doesn't merit to be lived if man will not be able to fly on the *Song*'s wings. Only the *Song*, the flying fantasy, the poem of great visions succeeded to give us power"[5].

Reading *The Song of Songs* involves us totally and seriously, because it places us under the sign of our own wedding (the wedding being the poem axis), as a cycle from birth to death. We ask ourselves: what does a wedding mean? From a

[3] Cocagnac 1997: 7.
[4] Dittman 1988: 123.
[5] Rosen 1992: 79.

human and poetical point of view, a wedding is a direction, an ascent into the spirit. Symbol and lexical problems – the delectable game of forms – are the two word hypostases which the poet of the *Song* wants to wed to each other. First of all, every literary work presents a succession of sounds; only afterwards, we feel it as the reader's living emotions, a system of norms and conventions, a system of ranges, etc. Eventually, the reader is ready for deeper meanings and he expects to discover from this book of life, the total secret. Only this wedding can definitely and gravely involve him, and can justify the hard work of looking into the night for the meaning of life. In this spiritual and cosmic wedding, we see that the initiative doesn't belong exclusively to the Groom, but becomes the live pulsation of an entire mechanism of culture.

A literal reading of the poem should produce the vibration of the page, covering the nuances. A lecture on the poem will free the great voice into the spirit, because a masterpiece presented at a moment of a intense inspiration may be understood only by he who reaches the same level of intensity. Upon evaluating the *Song*, the reader must have a morally developed conscience. In the fight between the letter and the letter's crown ("the letter kills and the Spirit makes alive", *II Corinthians* 3,6) between the human wine and the holy wine (we ask ourselves which wine was more important at Chana's wedding, the wine at the beginning, or at the end?) Why? Because, as Origen maintains, if through Moshe we learn not only about the existence of the Holy but also about the existence of the Holy of the Holies, it then follows that from Solomon we learn not only about songs but about the *Song of Songs*. As a man ascending towards the Holy desires so much to reach the Holy of the Holies, so he needs to understand all the songs from the Holy writings and to raise himself for the lecture and deep understanding of שיר השירים.

The translation of the *Song of Songs* (an elaborate damnation!) supposes an inter-linguistic contact, as may be understood from Ingarden's studies of aesthetics. Generally, equivalents cannot be found easily. Will the linguistic transfer succeed? What will happen to the semantic inferences?

The "transhumance" from the phonic register of the Hebrew language to the Romanian language is not an easy one. I quote from E. Renan: "*Le Cantique des Cantiques* est un des livres hébreux qui offrent, sous le rapport de la langue, le moin des difficultes; mais de tous les monuments litteraires du peuple juif, c'est sans concredit celui dont le plan, la nature et le sens general sont les plus obscurs "[6].

The alternation of vowels (five long vowels: qametz, tzere, hyreq gadol, holem, shurek; five short ones – patach, segol, hyreq qatan, qametz hatuf, qibutz; semivowels – shewa – simple or composed with patach, segol, qametz) and with consonants – which generate an other phonetic "flow" – determine the place of

[6] Renan 1970.

accents (disjunctives and conjunctives), which play an extremely important role in Hebrew; they help to understand the meaning of the words. Where it concerns the *Holy Scripture*, all differences have deep meanings. It is much more difficult if the accent is on the sacrifice of significants in favor of (or in spite of) the meaning or vice versa. What will be gained from a spiritual point of view if the word יריעה will be read as a blanket (it was really a black tent cover) or the word אהל will be read as a tent, hiding its secret meaning (in *Psalm 104*) where it symbolizes the heaven? Saint Gregory Palama considered that Moshe saw the tent as a non material one, and only afterwards, through the means of material imitation, he showed it to his people.

Each text has some relationship to the spirit of the time in which it was created; each masterpiece remains linked to the culture in which it was born, supposing an ethnological determination (cf. Mircea Eliade). To clean means not only to escalate, but also to take care of the secret meaning of the text! How can we clean the dust from the words, when this is the only way of preserving the meaning, the schema, without destroying the myth's narrative? More than that, the *loca obscura* must be considered, which may be real linguistic fields. The language mutations are also normal. It is difficult to regain the original without special accessories, in order to give the sensation of a perfect gnosis.

H. R. Gadamer held that the translator has to consider the writer's context, every time he transposes a meaning: the problem is not to regain the original, as an aesthetic object, but rather to reproduce its genesis, maintaining both its clarity and obscurity. All these are modern problems of translation; *Vulgata* and *Septuaginta* and many other versions were written in the absence of works on the theory of translation. Theorizing the poem, cold and exact terms, will be considered unfair. The *Song of Songs* may be read without limits in our attempt to give the words an iconic meaning without disturbing the meaning.

I shall attempt to the interpretations of this text in an absolute, general way. By *general* I refer strictly to traditional interpretations (many of them, have produced confusion). With some exceptions, exegetical works have helped me. Other points of view must also be considered, such as the dramatic interpretation presented by H. Edwald or Comte. (May the dramatic remain an aesthetic category concentrated on conflict, which appears in the *Song of Songs*?) The dramatic construction supposes a fixed perspective, in which time and space have a special convention, the presence of narrative and non-narrative lines seam to influence, conserve and modify.

In 1776, Pufendorf considered the poem as an Egyptian hieroglyph; A. Clarke saw it as a scenery of a play. K. Budde understood it to be a collection of nuptial songs and maintained that it is as impossible for Jewish people not to know the love songs of the Patriarchs' descendents, nor the wedding songs from Haram, where Abraham lived before he crossed the Eufrates. T.J. Meek believed that the origin of the text were liturgical rituals for the month of Tamuz. Leroy Waterman,

who put the *Song* and the story about Abishag Sunamita in the same category, שיר השירים may be the paronimic link between Shulamit/Shunamit (this is only a supposition). Langrange and Cornelly preferred the parabolic interpretation to a strictly allegorical one.

The literary interpretation was first presented by Shamai, who called for the exclusion of the *Song* from the canon; Rabbi Eleazar condemned this opinion in a synod in the year 90 A. D. Theodor of Mopsuestia was the first Christian who understood the *Song* to be a literary work, however his opinion wasn't accepted by two ecumenical synods. According to the literal interpretation, the *Song* is about human love, perhaps between a boy-shepherd and a girl-shepherd, or between Solomon (a true theocrat and Yahweh's slave) and the king of Egypt's daughter, or between a young girl from Solomon's harem and her lover (according to Renan). The Holy Fathers consider the fourty-four/fourty-five *Psalm* as the key to the mysteries of this poem, describing allegorically the Messianic King's wedding. Otherwise, how can Avishag Shulamit or the Pharoh's daughter be described as follows: the bride is born under an apple tree, she shepherds the goats toghther with other shepherds, and she guards her brothers' vineyards; during the night, she looks for her lover in the streets of Jerusalem and is hidden by the guardians. The Groom is sometimes a shepherd and sometimes a king[7].

M.S. Kagan deals in deapth with the problem of gender in literature and points to a paradoxical but historically demonstrated fact: the reason that poetry is more ancient than the prose, may be because "the lyrics received from music the capacity of modeling the inner word of the subject in a metaphoric way"[8]. From this point of view, Pouget and Guitton stress how difficult it is to place the Song; is Shir Ha-Shirim a song in the proper sense, as Moshe's Song from *Deuteronomy* 32? Or is it a unique composition? Is it or is it not a dialogue between two lovers, expressing their love to each other? Which kind of love is it, a sacred or a profane one, is it shared or not? Is it or is it not a drama with Solomon, Shulamit and the shepherd as characters, as Goethe, who was influenced by Herder, maintained? Is it indeed or not a profane drama or an erotic eulogy, as affirmed by Renan? If they are right, why is this poem included within the canon and how can it be justified "et macula non est in te"? It doesn't exist as a pure artistic phenomenon; it isn't a material amalgam of themes, influences, traditions, but one of structural impurities. The *Song* rises so many questions…

The typical interpretation was held by Honoriu, Bossuet and by the Catholic and Protestant exegetes Zapletal, Calmet, Miller, Delitzch. To them, the *Song of Songs* has a double meaning: a literal one – the celebration of Solomon and Shulamit's wedding – and a typical one – the expression of the love between Yahweh and the Chosen people or between Christ and the Church. This

[7] *Studiul Vechiului Testament* 1985: 376.
[8] Kagan, 1979: 531.

interpretation veils the sacred character of the book. From a theological point of view, the biblical content cannot be supposed, but must be proven by the *Holy Scripture* or the Holy Tradition, which never presented Solomon's wedding as a typical one.

The allegorical interpretation was taught by the Hillel school in the Synagogue. Origen inherited it from the Judeans; Hyeronimus brought it to the Latin Church. According to this interpretation, the *Song* is an esoteric poem. It's fundamental metaphor may be found throughout the Prophets, where the theocratic community is represented as God's fiancee, and also in the pericopes of the *New Testament*, where the Groom is Christ and the Church is his Bride. In two parabolas, Christ's kingdom is like a wedding feast; in the *Epistola to the Ephesians*, Saint Paul describes God as the Groom and the Church as his Bride; the *Revelation* sings at the divine Lamb's wedding with the Church, its Bride, whom the Holly Fathers called "the new Eve" born during Adam–Christ's death–sleep. The link between Christ and the Church is the foundation of the orthodox ecclesiology. The formula of the allegorical interpretation in Christianity is based on the typical character of the *Old Testament*. The comparisons, going over the mimetic level, also demonstrate that it is an allegory. From this perspective, Fray Louis de Leon's analogy (deduced only from some similitudes among syntagmas) between the *Song* and the *Spiritual Song* of St. John of the Cross is not a happy one; when discussing the *Song of Songs*, the Augustinian man deliberately pays no attention to its transcendent meaning: "I will try to broke the textual shell as this book doesn't hide any secret beyond the meaning of the words"[9]. This interpretation is in favor of both Jewish and Christian traditions. Pouget and Guitton point out toneophytes the difference between the allegoric genre and the allegoric method, a method of exegesis which is familiar to Christianity and enlivens the entire liturgy. They demonstrated that in an allegory, each object corresponds to another one, each part corresponds to an other one, each person corresponds to another one. In a parabola, on the other hand, there is no correspondence between any element of an image and an aspect of an idea. Furthermore, the authors discuss machal, a kind of proverb, a little parabola, an enigma, which doesn't elucidate the images that it represents or "the lesson" which it teaches, but makes an analogy between two different situations which are in some discordance, and being clear and obscure at the same time.

In the opinion of Pouget and Guitton, *The Song of Songs* "migrates" from the historical and lyrical drama, destined to be a moral lesson, to the parabola, which shows the love between Yahweh and the people, in order to serve as an allegory, neglecting the literal meaning. For these authors, the poem joins the sibilant genre, because of its hermetic writing, like Platon's *Parmenide*, Virgil's *Eglogue* and St. John's *Apocalypse*.

[9] Louis de Leon 1985.

The naturalistic interpretation considers the poem to be a collection of Arabic popular songs, sung at Transjordanian and Lebanese weddings. The text is considered to be profane, allowing for the existence of a moral sense[10]. The *Song* is considered by the **cultural interpretation** to be a translation of a pagan liturgy of the Near East, the love story between a god (a king) who, after his death, looks for his beloved in hell. She is the goddess of war and love, a great priestess. Their wedding gives birth to the New Year. Following, are various of analogies which often are only impediments.

One most interesting analogy refers to the love songs of the papyrus *Chester Beatty* I (at the British Museum). E. Suys is right in his opinion that the parallelism is not necessarily sustained by the similarities between the detail and the material form. But one song, which includes seven couplets, warrants a special attention: the author is a woman amusing herself[11]. The *Harris* papyrus – 500 – *Ramesseum a Thebes* includes the Bride and the Groom songs. The lover's eulogy from *Chester Beatty I* is like the eulogy from the *Song*. I choose this chapter because it seems to contain the entire essence of the poem. The poem is read with a split eye – one half paying attention to the reading which, comes to an end like every pleasure, the other half working hard trying to reorganize the system. I chose not to discuss the following: the structure of the *Song* (a two dimensional one-succession and simultaneity), which consists of a continuous parallelism, nor the stylistic data of the text (the role of the accented syllables and the number of ictuses from the imprint of a rhythm; the synonymous, synthetic or climatic parallelism which characterizes Hebrew poetry; the presence of assonances, comparisons, metaphoras, alliterations and especially anadiplosis and the anaphora; the role of accents in Hebrew in general and of the accents appearing especially in poetry: silluq, atnach, jetib, azla legarmeh, munach, majela; and finally, the other masoretic signs which help to understand the text).

I do not discuss the relationship between the empiric ego and the creative one, or the values of the verbal forms of the Hebrew language (qal, niphal, piel, pual, hithpael, hiphil, hophal). I didn't elaborate on the beginning nor the end of the *Song*; I didn't deal with the language's functions (whether it is a referential, poetic, emotional, conative or a meta linguistic one). I didn't delve into the deep meanings developed by this poem, from the μετανοια (which is read as a change of mind, a transformation of judgement) to synergy; from the charismatic tears of a realized regret (which are simultaneously the beginning of an endless joy entering an aseptic decoration) to the human being's eschatological transfiguration, remaining *imago Dei* even in his extremely sensible existence. All these (including the ideas from the beginning) will be discussed in perspective.

We have limited ourselves to a non-exhaustive, first comparative study of the text; the result is this translation of a chapter which contains indescribable

[10] *TOB* 1988 : 1031-1032.
[11] Luisseau 1959: 656.

splendor, and perpetually causes authentic perplexity – maybe because it places us under the sign of the mentioned ואהבתה and if read in an unrespected way, will make the agapeic perspective opaque. At least, at this primary level, the concordance between the three sacred texts mentioned by the title, is surprising (they are realized in different periods of time; the Masoretics were true protectors of the written text, trying to transmit it in the most loyalway. The role of the Masoretic signs, the three systems of vocalization (Babylonian, Palestinian and Tiberian), the use of *qere* (it shows what must be read) and *ketib* (the written one) are well known.

The massoretics left their own textual notes known as Massorah. Their activity was known between the fifth and tenth centuries by means of brand names: Ben Neftali or Jacob Ben Chayym.

Vulgata is Jeronimous' work, finished in cca 405 AD, as a new translation of the *Old Testament*'s original text. The translator studied Hebrew in Palestine. *Septuaginta* is linked to the famous Alexandria (second-third century AD) and to the Hellenized Jews' necessity to translate the Holy books into Greek. Like Aristeas' famous epistle, King Ptolemeus the 2nd had gathered seventy two translators who completed the work in seventy two days. My option for an "applied" parallel doesn't mean that this couldn't also be realized outside our chosen text, especially if we consider the numerous existent revisions especially *Septuaginta*'s revisions as Jonathan Ben Uzziel's Kaige. The aim of this revision was an *ad litteram* one in the Hellenistic language of the Hebrew text. Another revision was Origen's *Hexapla*, in which the six columns include not only the Hebrew text but also the Hebrew transliteration with Greek letters. Other translations are Aquila, Symachus and Hesychius (the supposed author was an Egyptian bishop). *Nemo dat quod non habet*; we will stop here, for as mentioned before, this overview is not exhaustive.

In closing, The *Song of Songs* may be seen as a poem in which the two "protagonists" – and not the development or the process – mesmerize our attention. The Groom – the Singer and the Word only It could sing lively and intensively, only He, the Pain's man (*Isaiah* 53,3) and "life water" which generates the communion state for a solar dinner, being the key of the whole being; because we are parts of His body and bones (*Ephesians* 5,30). That's why he has unified himself with us, to unify the body and the head, as Saint John Hrisostom has shown, speaking about people who strongly love each other. The Bride – the human form in which the Word is shining, and which, going far from a cloudy reality (considering that the human brings itself to a common level, in spite of the various hierarchic levels) acquires a consistent infra-reality (because it is an ideal one) and manifests an evanescent, geographic and cosmic love towards a special South, a special concept of irradiation. That explains the use of the Sun (the Sun–God analogy is frequent in the Holy Fathers' books). The Bride fears nothing, not even surprises. Only an absolutely accurate life fortifies a creation, and only

through pain can the priority of values be made. Love doesn't know fear, a perfect love cheats fear, fear is related to punishment and he who is afraid cannot be perfect in his love (*John* 4,18).

Unexpressed love remains the link of perfection (*Colossians* 3,14) and is according to Saint Gregory of Nyssa, the Holy (God's) life itself. Its force of Holy Spirit, even apart from the Holy hypostasis of the Spirit, isn't a created effect, but rather an uncreated holy gift, and the human being becomes "divinae consortes naturae" through the Holy Trinity. First of all, it is a prophetic revelation. You must see the beloved soul as light and, indeed, you must reach the highest level of knowledge of the person whom you love. "In Hebrew the verb *jada* [n. t. ידע] means both to know and to marry, as to love means total knowledge: *Adam knew Eve* [...]. Despite all travesties, love contemplates the initial innocence, its miracle cancels distance and loneliness, and it gives us the feeling of unity, a heterogeneous identity of two subjects"[12]. To find again the beloved gives a feeling both of returning home and regaining peace (as Saint Augustine said: "Inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiscat in Te"). The Bride returns to the Groom's soul.Love doesn't permit her to belong to herself, but instead to her beloved; his life is sovereign to her. That is why we assist her not only to enter her Groom's house, but to go towards her transfiguration, her metamorphosis in God's house – the Church, where she will have his permanent presence. The epithalamium brings the fiancees on stage, looking at each other; the true subject, however, is not the bucolic shepherd, nor the beautiful Shulamit, but Love itself.

The *Song of Songs* was written for the kind of love expressed in the last verses: "You, who sit in the gardens the friends hearken to your voice/let me hear/ Flee, my beloved and liken yourself to a gazelle on the spice mountains"[13]. Christ's place is in the heart; according to ascetic Eastern Christianity, the heart is "the center of the human being, the root of the active faculties-the intellect and the force, the starting point and aim of the entire theological life"[14].

One of the main ideas of the patristic literature is to speak only about love for God. The existence of visible deficiencies inner emptiness, the poison of the soul's ugliness, all show that real love is a gift only from God. This gift consists of frankness, belonging, freedom, commitment, resilience, reciprocity which consent and affirm the meeting between God's love and man's ascendant love. As Apostle Paul says: "Love believes all things and hopes all things". The fruit of love which is also the root, is love itself which hastens to virtue, and nothing is lacking when we possess it. The Apostle alone was constant in his love of God through his own words because neither life, death, past, present or future, let alone anything created, could prevent his heart from loving God (cf. *Corinthians* 13,1-8).

[12] Evdokimov 1993: 142-143.
[13] Evdokimov 1994: 143.
[14] Lossky 1993: 195.

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DYNAMIQUE DU FOLKLORE, DYNAMIQUE DU LANGAGE

IRINA BALOTESCU

RESUMÉ

On aborde ici la manière dont le langage se modifie selon les jeux et les enjeux du miroitement des innovations folkloriques. Mon regard porte sur les mécanismes par lesquels le folklore se *trans*-forme et qui déterminent la dynamique des différents registres du langage verbal. On prend en considération la relation entre la culture populaire et la langue, comme facteurs identitaires stables, au sens le plus large du terme, tout en se préoccupant, à l'intérieur de cette relation, du rapport entre la dynamique du folklore et la dynamique du langage. Il s'agira d'établir une «diagnose» d'un certain moment culturel et historique, et, dans la mesure du possible, de prévoir les manières et le rythme des futures transformations au niveau du folklore et de la langue.

Mots-clefs: Langage, Folklore, Culture traditionnelle, Culture populaire, Transformation.

Compte tenant de la dynamique du folklore et de celle de la langue[1], avec des spécifications sur la question du langage, on ne se propose pas de remettre en question le terme de *folklore*, mais de lancer plutôt quelques directions qui nous fassent penser ou repenser la relation entre le folklore et la langue (le langage/les langages, plus précisément), tous deux conçus comme des phénomènes vivants, toujours en mouvement, mais à la fois ayant un important degré de stabilité. On va éviter, dans cette communication, de reprendre toute une discussion sur les relations déjà établies et bien connues entre la langue et le folklore, et on s'arrêtera sur les différents constats concernant les notions énoncées en vue de «deviner» non pas leur aspect futur, mais leur *type* de dynamique: ce qui nous semble plus important pour l'idée même de *processus*.

Quant on s'est posé pour la première fois la question sur cette relation, on est parti d'une prémisse ou plutôt d'un préjugé – à savoir: autant la langue que le

[1] On comprend ici la langue dans son acceptation saussurienne, comme produit social de la faculté du langage, comme système de signes distinctes, correspondants aux idées différentes et, bien compris, comme convention. On comprend aussi, par la langue, cet aspect de langage qui se constitue dans une réalité unitaire et super individuelle.

folklore sont des indicateurs (*markers*, en.) identitaires dont la dynamique est la même ou qu'elle suit les mêmes directions. Cela voulait dire qu'une «radiographie» de la langue aura se superposer sur la «radiographie» du folklore comme processus ou qu'une «diagnose» de la langue, surprise dans un certain moment de son «évolution»[2] reflète un certain moment du processus folklorique.

On oserait même dire que la langue et le folklore représentent deux phénomènes manifestes qui, dans leur nature processuelle et de système, montrent la singularité d'un peuple quoi que ce soit. Les changements de mentalités reflétés dans les changements des rituelles, des coutumes, des habitudes, des traditions, de tout ce qui constitue un certain type de culture acceptée comme «culture populaire» ou, avec un terme imposé par les organismes internationaux (ONU, UNESCO): «patrimoine immatérielle/intangible cultural héritage» font partie d'un processus lent, du moins jusqu'avant le commencement explicite du processus de globalisation[3] à l'intérieur duquel les changement semblent plus rapides dans le but de faire atteindre le même niveau (ou presque) de la cohésion sociale, de l'économique, des aspirations, des nécessitées extérieures etc. Cette dynamique sociale, présente presque partout dans le monde[4] en différents degrés, mais, en tout cas, dans un rythme accéléré, nous semble être en relation avec le nombre de plus en plus élevé des «langages»[5] qui se créent est se *forment* (et se *formalisent*) dans la langue.

Quant à la langue roumaine qu'on prend ici comme exemple, pour des raisons d'accès, son parcours est évidemment lié à celui de la culture orale. Le roumain, comme langue d'origine latine, constitué en même temps que le peuple roumain, cognait la particularité, à la différence de beaucoup d'autres langues, d'avoir été parlée sur tout(s) le(s) territoire(s) de la Roumanie (actuelle). Cela a offert, bien évidemment, une unité identitaire et linguistique à la fois. En même temps, dans le processus de sa constitution et de sa dynamique (*évolution* de la langue), la langue roumaine a connu la rencontre avec les langues de plusieurs grandes cultures, dans le passé et dans le présent (les cultures de l'Empire Byzantin, la culture de l'Italie ou de l'Empire austro-hongrois, plus tard, ensuite,

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[2] On utilise ici le terme «évolution» plutôt dans son acception linguistique, qu'en ce qu'on comprend plutôt par *dynamique*, car on considère que les changements de l'intérieur de la langue ne signifient pas nécessairement une évolution, mais plutôt une transformation, cela n'incluant pas une dimension qualitative.

[3] On préfère ici le terme de «globalisation» comme se référant d'une manière plus précise à la culture, dans le sens élargi du terme, à la différence du concept de «mondialisation» qui se réfère plutôt au contexte et aux relations internationaux.

[4] Les communautés plutôt isolées, qui conservent mieux leur propre culture, semblent utiliser presque exclusivement leur propre langue, ce qui nous fait croire que la langue même est un facteur contribuant à la conservation est non pas un simplet reflet de celle-ci.

[5] On comprend ici par «langages» plutôt les différents terminologies tels la terminologie/le langage juridique, administratives, mais aussi le langage des enfants, par exemple, donc on ne se réfère pas au phénomène en soi (le *langage*) conçu dans ses aspects hétérogène et multiforme.

elle a connu le rapprochement de la culture française, de celle des espaces germaniques et à présent il s'enregistre de plus en plus d'influences des cultures de l'espace anglo-saxon ou espagnol, de l'Amérique du sud, des pays arabes et même des espaces asiatiques); c'est à dire le grec, le slavon, le turc, l'italien, le hongrois, le français, l'anglais…

On constate que, dans le Moyen Age roumain, période pour laquelle il existe des attestations documentaires sur les coutumes, les pratiques traditionnelles, les fêtes du cycle de la vie etc., donc, sur la culture populaire, de transmission orale et par apprentissage ou par imitation, la communication de type verbal dans les milieux ruraux (dominants) et urbains était assurée par l'intermède de la langue roumaine; les langages spécifiques présents dans la langue de l'époque se réduisaient aux langages du clerc, au celui de la Court du Seigneur au de la Court féodale comme institutions importantes et d'une grande influence, y compris du point de vue culturelle; cela veut dire, plus précisent que à l'époque, on opérait avec des langages religieux et laïques – juridiques, administratives, militaire, courtois; quant à la culture orale, cela représentait un important facteur de cohésion du group/de la communauté, assurant la communication et la transmission de leur propre culture. L'assimilation des notions du registre religieux, elles aussi, communiquées dans le roumain après la messe, par le clerc en majorité orthodoxe – l'orthodoxie représentant la religion de la plus grande partie de la population – a constituée une façon d'utiliser la langue comme facteur important de la formation religieuse, d'une partie et de l'autre, d'utiliser la langue comme facteur de l'unité et stabilité dans le cadre du group ou de la communauté. On pourrait, donc, dire que dans la période médiévale, la langue et les langages qu'elle contenait représentaient des facteurs fortement stables quant à la dynamique du folklore et de la langue avec ses «langages», par conservation des structures grammaticales et par un vocabulaire relativement commun au niveau «des élites»[6] et au niveau de la population non instruite. Il y avait, donc, à l'époque, une relation toute à fait étroite, entre ces deux systèmes – la langue et le folklore, relation causée, en grande partie, par le caractère stable des systèmes et par les mouvements suffisamment lents à l'intérieur des processus.

On va tout simplement rappeler la relation langue-parole dans le cadre du langage, car on les trouve semblables à la relation type – variante, cette dernière étant spécifique aux systèmes d'analyse et de classification du folklore. En tant que la parole représente l'utilisation effective de la langue, sa forme manifestée d'une manière toute individuelle, du même, la variante folklorique concrétise le type, en lui prouvant le caractère vivant pour une certaine période qu'on peut prendre en considération à un moment donné et aussi puis après, vue le caractère stable du type.

En essayant de voire comment les deux systèmes (folklore et langue) conservent leur caractère spécifique, on constate que les deux utilisent la norme

[6] Par laquelle on comprend la Cour du Seigneur, les Courts nobiliaire et féodale, le clerc, donc ce segment de population qui avait accès à l'instruction spécialisée.

comme façon de conservation, transmission et même de modification, étant donné que toute transformation tant à l'intérieur de la langue[7], que dans le système folklorique[8] se fait par rapport aux normes généralement acceptées par les membres de la communauté, plus ou moins large. On pourrait, donc, dire, que la dynamique des systèmes, bien que d'habitude lente, est une dynamique continue; arrivés à ce point, il faut mentionner que, si pour la langue, la parole est un facteur déterminant pour son caractère processuel, pour le folklore, l'innovation assure, en grande partie, la dynamique.

On observe, à la fois, la relation de la langue roumaine avec ses dialectes bien proches du point de vue de la phonétique que du point de vue de la compréhension parmi tous les individus du pays, ce qui prouve le caractère fort unitaire de la langue, dès sa constitution jusqu'a présent. Cet aspect on le trouve bien important comme démonstration de l'existence d'une culture populaire unitaire sur tout le territoire de la Roumanie, la réalité culturelle étant en accord avec celle linguistique. On remarque, par conséquence que, n'importe où on se situe du point de vue chronologique, la population de ces territoires partageait une culture et une langue communes, s'influençant l'une l'autre d'une façon réciproque.

Pour avancer dans l'observation, on trouve bon de s'attarder un peu sur la *question de l'anonymat,* question commune au folklore et à la langue, car on sait bien que la constitution et la dynamique de la langue et du folklore sont déterminées, entre outres, par chaque individus, dans le cadre de leur interrelation avec leurs semblables; ce qui compte du point de vue processuel et du système, c'est la contribution de chaque' un par rapport aux autres et par rapport aux système. Bien qu'on puisse détenir, au cas échéant, des données sur les individualités qui déterminent et subis en même temps ces deux processus, ces information ne vont pas enrichir la question des mécanismes qui leur assure la dynamique.

Une autre question, liée à celle de l'anonymat et qui reflet encore le rapport d'entre le langage, la langue et le folklore, est donnée par le caractère orale, comme forme d'un certain type de communication, une exploitation verbale, non écrite de la langue, en profitant beaucoup de la phonologie et des autres aspects tels le rythme, l'intonation, l'amplitude vocale. On sait, en même temps, que les aspects phonatoires n'influencent en rien les systèmes de la langue ou du folklore, car elles ne touchent que l'aspect extérieur, en exprimant le caractère individuel des personnes; la langue, comme aspect concret du langage, représente la condition nécessaire et obligatoire pour que la parole soit intelligible et qu'elle devienne manifeste. Du même, la variante, en ce qui concerne le folklore, c'este la condition

[7] On se réfère ici au passage, au fond passive, des certains éléments, aux modifications du niveau sémantique ou formel, on pense aussi aux termes nouveaux entrés dans la langue, à l'augmentation du nombre de divers types de langages/terminologies etc.

[8] On pense plus précisément à l'innovation qui, auprès de la tradition constitue la partie indispensable pour un phénomène vivant.

pour que le type existe. En synthétisant, on dira que tant la parole que la variante précédent la langue, respectivement le type, en leurs assurant le «corpus»; on imagine, bien évidement la situation où ces éléments qui font partie du système disparaissent ou qu'ils se déplacent dans le fonde passif de la langue ou du folklore, ça voulait dire qu'ils se conservent au niveau de la mémoire, dans les archives et les documents de spécialité. En même temps, la parole détermine la dynamique/l'évolution de la langue, la langue étant à la fois instrument et produit de la langue. Quant au folklore, il est déjà connu[9] que les traditions, les coutumes et tout ce qui constitue la culture populaire de n'importe quel peuple, soient-elles du passé, soit de la contemporanéité, déterminent l'aspect de la langue, y réfléchissant des concepts fondamentaux sur le bien et le mal, sur la vie et la mort, sur la justesse et la vérité et aussi sur la réalité transcendante; celles-ci sont de notions clé qui définissent tout peuple et qui ont le degré maximal de conservation, conservation reflétée aussi dans et par la langue. Dans la formation de la langue ainsi nomme *littéraire*, interviennent toute une série de processus et de relations qui dépassent le niveau de la parole, le niveau de l'exprimassions de type orale; la distance entre la langue littéraire et la langue *familière* diffère d'une langue à l'autre, d'une culture à l'autre. Quant au roumain, comme on l'a déjà dit au début, le fait que la langue a été, dès le commencement, la même sur tout le territoire de la Roumanie et que la culture des élites[10] était étroitement liée, du moins au passée, à celle populaire, cela a fait que l'écart entre la langue littéraire et la langue écrite ne soit pas essentiellement distinctes du point de vue du système. En même temps, on ose de dire que, dans le cadre de la verbalisation, aspect essentiel de la culture populaire, la dynamique de la langue connaît le rythme le plus accéléré. En utilisant la langue dans sa possibilité de verbalisation, les individus on l'accès le plus rapide à une communication qui corresponde aux leurs besoins immédiats en leur offrant le cadre d'une interrelation active, capable à assurer les éléments des structure plus ou moins figées, disponibles aux changements dans la mesure dans laquelle les innovations sont acceptées par la majorité des membres des utilisateurs/de la communauté, par assimilation, utilisation et transmission. On n'a pas ici l'intention de s'arrêter sur les changements sémantique, comme preuves de la dynamique des mentalités, donc d'une culture, que de la dynamique de la langue; on panse que les linguistes s'y préoccupent déjà, mais la sémantique fait preuve de cette transformation. Un exemple quant à la dynamique de la langue, comme reflétant un aspect de la culture populaire, nous semble être l'essaye d'approche entre la forme

[9] La *linguistique externe* s'occupe d'une façon toute spécifique à ce sujet, donc on n'insiste ici que pour souligner le fait que au-delà de l'oralité qui preuve la relation entre la langue et le folklore, du point de vue de la dynamique dont on y se préoccupe, le folklore en soi, comme processus, se trouve sans interrompions dans une relation de condition réciproque avec cet aspect du langage constitué par la langue.

[10] On ignore ici volontairement les langages ou les terminologies juridique, administratifs etc., auxquelles on a déjà fait référence.

et le contenu, au moment ou l'individu n'a pas la propriété d'un terme/d'une expression similaire du point de vue formelle avec un autre terme/expression déjà connu(e); il s'agit, donc, de ce qui est consacrée comme *étymologie populaire*. Il nous semble que cette essaye d'assimilation d'un terme nouveau par le filtre d'un terme reflétant une réalité déjà connue, acceptée, utilisée et partagée avec les autre individus du group ou de la communauté qui, à leur tour, reprennent, utilisent et retransmets le nouveau terme, c'est une preuve de fait que la langue reflet et se reflet dans une manière évidente surtout dans la culture orale, dans la culture populaire. Bien évidement, les groups ou les communautés bénéficiant d'un certain niveau d'instruction/d'éducation ne sont pas touchés d'une façon directe par ce phénomène linguistique, mais, une fois entré dans la langue, comme terme consacré, le terme formé par ce procédé – *étymologie populaire* – se comporte comme tout autre mot[11]en touchant importe quel individu, en dépit de son degré d'instruction, ce que veut dire que les communautés créateurs de la culture populaire, ayant plus conservatrice par rapport à la réalité connue, attire et transforme la notion non connue en essayant de la corriger en vue de l'assimilation et de la mise en circulation.

On doit dire qu'on remarque surtout les dernières années une dynamique tout accentuée dans la langue et dans la culture orale aussi. On se réfère ici au territoire de la Roumanie et à la langue roumaine mais on panse que certains aspects sont communs aux autres territoires aussi par la globalisation assez débattue et assez «réelle», que par le changement de l'accent quant au repaire constitué maintenait par la ville et non pas par le village, qui, jadis représentait le «point focal» du point de vue de la cohésion sociale, du système des valeurs et de la morale. On remarque, donc, que pendant la période récente et toute récente, caractérisée par une augmentation, une diversification et, au cas échéant, par une invasion des moyens audio-visuelles et de l'internet (par ses possibilités de communication rapides en virtuel – poste électronique – et ultrarapide – le *chat*, le Messenger, le MSN, le MIRK etc., les conférences vidéo ou les audioconférences sur l'ordinateur ou sur le portable, par les moteurs de recherche parmi le plus connus étant le Google et le Yahoo), on pourra parler d'une culture populaire seulement en tenant compte de ces nouveaux aspects avec des effets importants pour la culture et pour la langue. Arriver à ce point, il nous semble obligatoire de faire référence à la relation dynamique du folklore – dynamique du langage, et non pas tout simplement dans sa manifestation par la langue, car à partir du moment où la langue s'est enrichie dans un délai assez court avec beaucoup de langages ou de terminologies, il nous semble important de surprendre la relation d'entre ces langages, la langue et le folklore. On constate que ces nouveau moyens de «communication» se font présents tant dans le milieu urbain, comme contexte dominant, que dans le milieu rural où l'impacte a été important et rapide. La conséquence immédiate de ces

[11] Ou expression si étymologie populaire donne une syntagmes et non pas un simple terme.

moyens de communication en virtuel se sont quelques acquisitions linguistiques acceptées et utilisées par tout le monde; abréviations, termes repris par l'anglais mais «activées» par tous les utilisateurs: *ID*, *password*, *nikname*, *doawnload* etc. En même temps, il se formait dans la langue des verbes qui expriment la fréquence d'un certain type de communication parmi les membres de certains groups qui communiquent en virtuel, qui détient, utilisent en virtuel mais en dehors de ceci aussi, des terme de ce langage particulier. Ainsi, en roumain, il y presque deux années se formait dans la langue le verbe *a mirciui* avec sa variante réflexive *a se mirciui*, qui signifiaient l'utilisation la communication en virtuel par le Programme MIRC; l'équivalant français de ce verbe pourra être le verbe *tchater* qui signifie le même type de communication, mais en utilisant le *chat*. En roumain, *a mirciui* ou *a se mirciui* sont à présent des barbarismes, et, en fonction de leurs dynamique dans le cadre du langage internet et dans la langue, le verbe va se transformer en terme accepté, va garder le statut actuel, va disparaître ou va connaître n'importe quel autre transformation.

La communication par la téléphonie mobile moderne, le plus souvent accessoirisée par l'internet, elle aussi a des effets dans la structure du mental commun qui dispose de la possibilité de croire que tout devient accessibles par un simple accès de claviature. Il se crée une grande communauté des utilisateur d'habitude regroupés en diverses formules – *friends*, partenaires de télécommunication portable qui partagent un type d'abonnement[12]. Ces possibilités de communication ultrarapides, une sorte de communication plutôt «instant» que directe, changes fortement la capacité et la volonté de conservation des structures stables dans le passée, car la possibilité d'obtenir n'importe quoi ne suppose ni un grand effort ni une longue durée. Ce type de communication qui comprime la dimension chronologique et spatiale à la fois, par des raisons d'accès, du moins, semble répondre aux nécessités de l'individu contemporain. Il y a aussi la catégorie des personnes qui, en comprenant que, ayant les même repères, structures et langage partout dans le monde, la conséquence sera, on imagine, un monde peu diverse ou, en tout cas, sans des indices identitaires. On s'y réfère, donc, aux individus qui décident de ne pas se doter avec des tels moyens de communication bien qu'ils puissent le faire.

Communiquer par ces moyens, il est bien évident, change même la perspective de la quelle on se situa quand on parle de culture orale, culture populaire ou folklore. Les moyens audio visuels sont plus proches de la communication orale, traditionnelle, le changement important de tous les moyens rappelles jusque' ci constant dans la comprimassions de la spatialité et de la temporalité ayant des conséquences au niveau spirituel, le plus important niveau pour la conservation des concepts de vie, de mort, de bien et de mal etc., déjà

[12] Il est intéressant de constater toute la série des publicités faisant référence à la communication par l'internet ou par la téléphonie surtout mobile, en prouvant les avantages de s'abonner en group ou de communiquer avec les amis, par exemple.

énoncés dans le cadre de ce propos. En forçant ces deux dimensions fondamentales par des moyens artificiels de communication, le rythme de vie, la succession des événements, le fait même de vivre par rapport aux autres, au soi même eu a instance supérieure pourraient se définir par les concept de *easy*, *fast* et *instant*, de *on* et de *off*, comme points repères de commencement et du fin.

On doute que ces nouveaux moyens de communications se constituent dans les découverts inattendues quant à la communication en vue d'exprimer et de s'exprimer, mais on leur reconnaissent l'utilité au moment où sont prises comme simple facilitations capables a aider l'avancement de l'individu, comme élément d'un group ou d'un communauté, dans n'importe quelle direction favorable à lui. On peut supposer, donc que, des changement importante dans le culture, y compris dans la culture populaire conçue comme processus, va avoir des effets importants au niveau du langage et de la langue.

Sans nous arrêter en détail, on rappelle tout simplement que, les dernières années, les terminologies ou les langages spécialisées, utilisées dans les milieux scientifiques, administratives, juridiques etc., connaissent l'ajout des langages argotiques, spécialisés, des groups de rollers ou de skateboard, d'une partie, proches des groups sportifs, mais de l'autre différent de ceux-ci. De même se passe avec les petits groups de graffitis[13], en utilisant des techniques, des symboles reconnus, acceptés, utilisés et transmis dans le cadre du group. Ce sont des groups urbaines, de plus en plus nombreux, formés par de jeunes, prépondérant masculins, dont on ne peut pas estimer l'influence, vue qu'ils se constituaient relativement récent chez nous. Comme dynamique du phénomène, il nous semble important de retenir tous ces éléments qu'on trouve intéressantes pour une possible esquisse de la société de l'avenir et pour trouver les manières de conservation des éléments-repère dans la future configuration.

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[13] On ne parle pas ici, bien évidement, des artistes qui s'occupent de ce type d'art, mais des non-professionnels.

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Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*, New York/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, xviii + 422 pp., ISBN 9780521877930, £ 55, $ 99.

The very cover of Edward Said's seminal *Orientalism*, decorated with Jean-Léon Gérôme's *The Snake Charmer* (1883), illustrates a shortcoming in applications of Orientalist analysis to musicology. The artwork may express the attitudes of Gérôme's audience toward the Middle East, but it equally expresses the conventions of contemporaneous European artistic style: a room in perspective, light reflecting off the tiles in the rear, naturalistic figure painting, the painterly techniques of oil on canvas. The subject is Oriental, but the use of perspective, light and shadow, and brushwork are no different from Gérôme's non-Orientalist works. The calligraphy on the wall, the only link with Middle Eastern artistic traditions, is presented in a realistic style, as though in a photograph. However tenuous the subject of the artwork's link to Middle Eastern realities may be, its link to Middle Eastern art itself, or even European stereotypes of it, is altogether absent. Scholars of musical exoticism, on the other hand, have for the most part looked for borrowings—real or imagined—from exotic culture. Jonathan Bellman's *The "Style hongrois" in the Music of Western Europe* (1993) is a good example of a musicological work in this vein; there he attempts to codify nineteenth-century compositional techniques thought to be derived from Hungarian-Gypsy music into a "lexicon." However, such an analytic tool would turn from Gérôme's painting empty-handed: what his art indicates about Parisian thoughts on the East is coded in the subject, not the technique.

In his aptly titled article "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," Ralph Locke addressed just this concern, and introduced a methodology to enable further analysis (Locke 2007). With his latest book, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*, he fleshes out this analytical technique and provides practical examples of its usefulness for musicologists. The book is formally divided into two parts. Part I briefly traces the history of approaches to and opinions regarding musical exoticism, before explaining their inadequacy and introducing a new, broader definition and methodology. Locke also discusses several complications to the notion of the exotic, such as displacements in time as well as space (64-66) and the at times cozy relationship between exotic and nationalistic styles (72-79). Part II, which forms the lion's share of the book, is a survey of Western exoticist works from about 1700 to the present, including examples from both art and popular music. Locke's approach here compromises between depth and breadth: he briefly

mentions a large number of relevant works, and then delves into a few that are representative (as well as widely known) to explore how it works on a local level. In particular, Locke is interested in demonstrating the utility of his methodology by examining segments that scholars of exoticism have often ignored. Finally, in an epilogue (technically included in Part II but distinct in topic), he discusses these works from the perspective of a performer and listener. In particular, he addresses what is perhaps most important to a typical music listener: how (or even whether) problematic works should be performed.

Central to the book are two meta-analytic paradigms of studies of musical exoticism which he gives rather straightforward names, the "Exotic Style Only" paradigm, and the "All the Music in Full Context" paradigm (2-3). The former is restricted to searching for explicitly exotic musical materials, like Bellman's *style hongrois*. The second, conversely, can also address music that is without apparent exotic elements, but which unambiguously deals with the exotic because of an indication in the title, text, program (whether genuine or ascribed), or other extra-musical elements (such as dramatic and visual elements). Locke does not disparage the former paradigm, which is, after all, subsumed in the latter, but encourages music not in an explicitly exotic style to receive equal treatment. His goal is to unlock the full spectrum of musical codes that reveal attitudes and prejudices about exotic lands and people, not just those that appear to imitate their musical practice. The result is a richer analysis of works, and one that shares more in common with studies of exoticism in literature and, as my opening example demonstrates, art. Such an approach is not exactly brand new with this book, either for Locke or for other scholars. As early as 1991 Locke wrote that "the primary aim of nineteenth-century Orientalism was to 'represent' the East to the West: precisely how this was done varied a great deal, and did not always involve non-European stylistic means" (Locke 1991:268). Moreover, as he points out by naming several predecessors, it is "not...an entirely unprecedented discovery of my own" (62). What is new, however, is the systematic explanation of its motivation and examples of its application, which Locke had not yet explored in a book-length treatment.

When put so straightforwardly, it is natural to ask why Locke's inclusive approach has been so seldom used by musicologists. After all, it seems so obviously fruitful in art and literary criticism, where it is quite atypical that an artist or writer adopts actual (or even supposed) non-Western languages or techniques (43). Locke suggests four reasons why this might be so (20-23). The first is a disinterest from studying forgotten works of the Common Practice Era (in contrast to Early Music) simply because there is so much unforgotten music that demands to be worked on first. The second, really a corollary to the first, is a reluctance to approach some works, especially obscure works that lack the justification of being a "classic," that are now deemed unperformable due to perceived political incorrectness. Locke is concerned about the lack of attention certain works have received, arguing persuasively that they must be included in scholarship to keep the

interpretation of "exotic" music grounded in its temporal and cultural context. The third reason is a relic of the Classic-Romantic era's bias for absolute instrumental music, to the detriment of those works dependent on text or drama to establish an exotic portrayal. Locke is thus reacting against the formalist approaches to musical analysis that dominated the twentieth century (181). The fourth is the general reluctance to address issues of signification in historical musicology before the advent of the New Musicology in the last two decades. One hopes that the growing interest in issues of interpretation within a context would include textual and programmatic context in addition to the more frequently discussed cultural context.

On that subject, Locke's new method inherently places music within a larger context, since it examines issues of how a composer would go about choosing certain conventional elements, as opposed to merely consulting a (hypothetical) lexicon and inserting the appropriate representational figure. Locke's analytical paradigm—even his definition—of exotic music also helps him avoid what Matthew Head called "meta-Orientalism" (Head 2000:15). Head argued that musicologists who treat Orientalism simply in terms of compositional craft or as a style category are claiming for musicologists Foucauldian power-knowledge over the composers and the musical era examined, and thus rehearsing Orientalist attitudes to them. Head seeks to avoid this in his own work by examining musical compositions from the context of historical cultural relationships between Vienna and Turkey and contemporary notions of identity as interpreted in the masquerade (Head 2000:17). Locke's paradigm abstains from difficult issues of determining whether a musical parameter was or was not to be considered exotic musically, refusing to appropriate that authority for the modern musicologist. He emphasizes instead how a musical work engages in a dialogue with other contemporaneous works, reinforcing or reacting to cultural as well as musical trends.

At the two points Locke does offer explicit lists of exotic stylistic features, the first of general characteristics (51-54) and the second of those from the eighteenth-century Viennese *alla turca* vogue (118-121), the results are disappointing. In addition to the meta-imperialist issues Matthew Head raises in relation to such lists, they add little understanding because they are inherently inconsistent and incomplete. Lists of this sort are necessarily self-contradictory, because the essential markers of difference from conventional musical practice can diverge from it in opposite directions. Locke notes explicitly contradictions in his list; for example, the exaggerated simplicity and complexity, respectively, that underlie features 5 and 6 on the first list (52). Further, such lists can never be exhaustive because elements that would be regarded as non-exotic out of context can be made to seem exotic within a specific context; in fact, this was precisely the point of arguing for a full-context model, instead of policing a boundary between exotic and non-exotic styles (4). For example, he describes a passage from Bizet's *Les pêcheurs de perles* as ambiguously in or not in exotic style, depending on how narrowly or broadly the criteria were considered (198 and 351 n. 72). Locke's

acknowledgement of these complications simply emphasizes the need for context, especially from the extra-musical cues that he is willing to include. Lists that enumerate exotic features have been compiled before (for example, Scott 1998:327, or Dahlhaus 1989:306; the shortcomings of the latter inspired Locke's own list (49-50)) and the inclusion of one here seems to interfere with the subtlety and flexibility of Locke's approach. Further, if this were a useful exercise, it is unclear why he would not create further lists for each of the styles that coalesced in the nineteenth century, as he states is possible, in principle (127). One is left to imagine that the complexities and contradictions of such lists would outweigh their utility.

Locke does not include any analysis in Part I, instead incorporating them into the historical framework elaborated in Part II. However, in order to demonstrate the power of his new methodology, I shall break my discussion here to consider how he presents one of his more detailed analyses, the Card Aria from Act III of Bizet's *Carmen* (169-174). In this scene, Frasquita and Mercédès have just finished playfully telling their own fortunes, predicting bounteous love and wealth. Carmen takes a deck of cards and seeks to tell her fortune, only to discover that the cards predict death for her and Don José. The ensuing aria is her most private moment in the opera; whereas previously she had always been "performing" for someone else with a diegetic song (167), here she confronts her own thoughts regarding fate. There is reason to think that Bizet himself accorded this scene particular significance: he scrapped his librettists' text and created his own, matching their verse forms (172).

Locke begins by considering French operatic tradition before Bizet, noting that composers such as Meyerbeer would certainly have introduced exotic elements to establish a sense of place, but that no more than perhaps half of the music in an opera would ever be in an explicitly exotic style. He then considers who is being exoticized here, and concludes that there will be relatively few musical signals of Spain, as Spain is presented as Self relative to the Gypsy's Other. Indeed the Gypsy Carmen's arias have heretofore been set in an exotic style, though this aria is not. Musically the aria begins with a series of low-pitched brass and then string ostinati over which Carmen sings a series of unrelenting eighth notes, which Bizet instructs to be performed very evenly, to the point of distorting ordinary French prosody. Locke interprets this unyielding insistent rhythm as elaborating a stereotype of Gypsy fatalism and belief in superstition. Considering ways two historical Carmens appear to have acted this out based on photographic evidence (and perhaps the viewer's own biases), he offers two possible readings: either the superstitious Gypsy is ignorantly accepting her own fate, or the wise Gypsy fortuneteller is reminding us all of our fate.

Locke is able to consider the scene, which has been little analyzed by exoticist scholars, because he recognizes that even though there are no straightforward musical cues of the exotic, the dramatic situation and the

costuming will ensure that the scene is interpreted using Gypsy stereotypes. He also resists commodifying the ways in which Bizet can achieve this, and even precisely what it is Bizet achieves, by offering ambiguity in the interpretation. Such ambiguity is to be applauded because it deals more realistically with how people interpret Orientalist tropes. As discussed in more detail below, it is rare that they can only be read in terms of a hegemonic Self over subjugated Other; more often they invite a variety of interpretations. This is especially true for those removed from their original context temporally. By leaving the interpretation open-ended, Locke avoids making judgments in a quasi-omniscient manner about what Bizet thought or intended, and allows performers leeway in their projecting their own interpretations of a work.

However, Locke does exaggerate somewhat the extent to which the passage is devoid of exotic signifiers. The recitative Carmen sings while dealing the cards includes the so-called Fate motive (associated with Carmen at various times in the opera), full of augmented seconds standing in for Gypsy music; its exotic signifiers could hardly be forgotten so soon. Furthermore, the opening line she sings has a distinct modal flavor; the ascending minor scale includes raised fourth and sixth scale degrees, a flatted seventh degree, and an omitted tonic, even though it would be in a metrically strong position (171, m. 194-195). This is followed by diatonic pitches and a leading tone in the next measure, in such a way that it perhaps would go unnoticed in another context, but given the preceding recitative and the extramusical cues, I am not so sure. Locke also does not discuss the extreme contrast of Carmen's segment to that of Frasquita and Mercédès, whose framing duet is sung in lively rhythm and in the parallel major. The effect is even more arresting when her final repetition ("toujours la mort") is elided into and even combined with the *da capo* repetition of their childish antics, a contrast Adorno called "one of the greatest moments in all dramatic music" (Adorno 1992:60). Locke's omission is striking; perhaps he leaves this out because Frasquita and Mercédès in theory represent the same Other, and thus it is confusing that their music would be so dissimilar. However, perhaps Bizet was here illustrating the two sides of the Gypsy clichés, at once fatalistic and carefree.

In Part II of the book, Locke begins his historical survey. Such a broad diachronic approach is rather rare, since most scholars restrict their studies to a particular time and place. Matthew Head, who wrote exclusively about Mozart in 1780s Vienna, was critical of the historical survey approach. His concern was not that it constitutes a meta-imperialist practice, acknowledging as it does the possibility of the musical culture to evolve, but that it sets the music apart from its historical context and encourages interpretations relying on development of musical techniques (Head 2000:16-17). Locke argues, however, that some perspective can be gained by examining works across time (as well as place and genre) to deal with issues of how music in context "represents" (23, scare quotes his). In addition, he

wanted to make this work wide-ranging, in order to demonstrate the power and flexibility of his new paradigm.

Locke recognizes two predecessors in exotic research studies that similarly adopted a broad diachronic approach instead of a narrow synchronic one, Jonathan Bellman's collection *The Exotic in Western Music* (1998) and Timothy Taylor's *Beyond Exoticism* (2007) (23-24). (He discusses too briefly Peter Gradenwitz's *Musik zwischen Orient und Okzident*, published in 1977, though it is cited in his bibliography.) He finds inspiration in both Bellman's and Taylor's works and cites them frequently, but accuses both of being stuck in the "Exotic Style Only" paradigm in their approach to music analysis. There is some truth to this, but it is a fairly narrow reading of each book, neither of which is devoted to musical analysis or comprehensive historical narrative to the extent of Part II of Locke's book, and both of which discuss at length the context in which exoticisms took place, including that related to plot or text. Bellman's book is a collection of essays by diverse writers (including Locke himself) who take a variety of approaches while discussing a fairly narrow stylistic period, in most cases specific to works evoking a specific region. The main contrast with Locke, then, is the limitations such a form imposes on larger diachronic and metastylistic speculation, other than Bellman's own brief preface.

Taylor offers a more unified approach but his intentions are rather different. One of Taylor's starting points is a criticism of what he calls the "classical music ideology" (Taylor 2007:3), which he defines in reference to an earlier passage on exoticism by Locke. This refers to the practice among music scholars of discussing music of any time and place in terms of nineteenth-century constructs of genius and masterpiece, instead of adequately placing it within cultural history. He argues for less emphasis on the composer's biography and oeuvre, and more on the episteme. Taylor's model, seldom cited in musicology, is literary theorist Stephen Greenblatt's New Historicism (Taylor 2007:4). Locke does not fully succeed in escaping the "classical music ideology"; particularly the earlier periods under consideration have difficulty placing isolated works into a rich historical context, perhaps owing to the difficulty of finding enough relevant historical data to trace the epistemic archaeology. Taylor, less devoted to the thoroughness of the survey, concentrates more effort on the latter, with considerable fruit.

Locke's survey of works is framed by a discussion of how the attitudes composers had toward the Other, as revealed by their compositional style and techniques, relate to the prevailing mode of cultural encounter. He associates the preoccupation with "unified 'style periods'" in traditional accounts of music history (the familiar succession of Baroque, Classical, Romantic, and so forth) with descriptions of purely musical characteristics, and thus a narrow sense of the exotic (21-22). To acknowledge that the role of exoticism in music goes beyond a changing set of marked styles, his own periodization instead uses as a basis the sequence of relationships between the Western core and exotic periphery. In other

words, the periods are ultimately political, not artistic. This is a clever insight, and one that accords well with his argument for an expanded view of the exotic. The four periods he breaks up music history into are an earlier age (here given no specific name, 1700-1750), the imperialist age (1750-1880), the modernist age (1890-1960), and the global age (since 1960).

In the earliest works examined, those before 1750, there are no explicitly exotic styles; as a result, Locke's more inclusive definition of exoticism is particularly helpful since the period has been little analyzed from that perspective (88). Despite this, this period receives the shortest treatment of the four, and is centered on an examination of just two works, Handel's oratorio *Belshazzar* (90-96) and Rameau's opera *Les Indes galantes* (97-105). This is the only period Locke does not explicitly associate with an ideological component, hence perhaps the absence of a name. In fact, the two works examined seem to use opposite stereotypes about the Other (tyranny and the noble savage, respectively). Instead, the period seems to serve as a prehistory to the development of such ideological aspects. As such, the opening date for Locke's discussion is set mainly by the survival of music. He does not trace the genre back to the fourteenth century like Miriam Whaples did (in her contribution to Bellman 1987:3-25), perhaps because for most of that period, only description and an occasional text has been preserved.

The following era develops what Locke calls "a world of exotic styles" (106-107), which he sees as developing from the Classical-era topics that Leonard Ratner famously identified (Ratner 1980:1-30). The first of these dialects to emerge was the mid-eighteenth-century "Turkish" music craze. Locke discusses the *alla turca* style at length, before turning to the proliferation of such dialects. This process was led by the increasing rationalization of music as a consumer product in the age of capitalism (127-128). Other factors included the improved status of programmatic music, increased dissemination of published music, increased contact with actual exotic music (131-132), and, with regard to stereotypical plot forms, increasing racialism in social thought (184). These factors remind us that this was also the Age of Empire, and many of the works betray a clear imperialist agenda. Locke shows this most clearly with his presentation of the archetypical Oriental-opera plot, wherein a young European hero intrudes into colonial territory and finds an exotic love interest, thereby incurring the wrath of her brutal male superiors (181; see also Locke 1993). Locke's approach begins with the plot, rather than stylistic elements, and is thus able to emphasize the wide application of this form and its obvious political overtones. This period receives by far the longest treatment in Locke's book, perhaps because it included the most archetypical examples of musical exoticism (Mozart's "Rondo alla turca" or Bizet's *Carmen*, for instance, both of which are discussed at length), and set the norms for more conservative composers in later eras.

The following era, which Locke calls modernism, is characterized culturally by increasing dissatisfaction with the imperialist agenda (215); while

decolonization only occurred toward the end of the period, apprehension about empire set in much earlier. At the same time, the increasing ease with which one could visit an exotic locale diminished the aura that its representation held on stage. In the visual arts, the succession from artists like Gérôme to artists like Picasso, as well as an interest in assimilation of non-Western styles in the cultivation of an artist's own style instead of representing the Orient, reflect this change in attitudes (216-217). To discuss the musical analogue, Locke introduces two terms to contrast with the nineteenth-century Overt Exoticism, namely Submerged Exoticism and Transcultural Composing (6 and 214). Why he felt it necessary to distinguish these last two, which are clearly just points on a continuum that incorporate with increasing authenticity or decreasing superficiality techniques derived from non-Western music, is not clear; he never distinguishes them, or the various other degrees he mentions in passing (half-Submerged Exoticism, Absorbed Exoticism), in any useful way. The point stands, however, that composers in the first half of the twentieth century introduced a range of techniques and attitudes that significantly complicate the simplistic attitudes inherited from the nineteenth century, and Locke surveys the repertoire well. He also acknowledges that these changes were hardly monolithic, and many composers continued to work in Overtly Exotic styles (244).

Locke's final period, the last fifty years, stylistically does not deviate greatly from the modernist rejection of Overt Exoticism, but is further complicated by difficulties in establishing the identities of Self and Other in an age of transmigration and globalization. Such complications surely go back at least to Verdi's *Aida*, commissioned by the Khedive of Egypt, but have greatly multiplied in recent years. The most salient examples of these trends are composers who originate in countries traditionally part of the East, but then participate in the now-global art music community. Locke briefly describes the careers and styles of several such composers, but the most detail appears in the section on Tan Dun (294-298). Particularly in the examination of his opera *Marco Polo*, Locke shows how Tan uses music associated with different locations in his project to eradicate exoticist discourse. Unfortunately, the analysis is not very systematic—and it is the most extensive one in the chapter. While it is valuable that Locke mentions so much of the relevant music of the period, it is regrettable the degree to which he prioritized this over devoting space to a closer reading of any of the works, as he was able to offer in the Common Practice Era. Why he chose to do this is unclear; after all, there are far more existing interpretations of the nineteenth-century exotic repertoire available to look at, even if they are mainly concerned with the exotic style only. Perhaps it was simply a matter of his own expertise; his studies have always favored the music of the nineteenth century.

One subject that resists fitting into Locke's periodization is popular music. He includes separate sections on it within the chapters devoted to the relevant time periods, but in essence, popular music has not turned away from Overt Exoticism

to nearly the extent that art music has (251 and 308); moreover, Locke offers that it is "not likely to die anytime soon" (299). In this area he seems most indebted to Taylor's studies; he doesn't provide any analysis of the works mentioned, but discusses the cultural trends responsible for the persistence of exotic tropes. Again, though, one wishes that any piece would get the sort of detail he gave the nineteenth-century art music repertoire. There is precedent here: Taylor's book, divided into two sections, presents some analysis of (mostly eighteenth-century) works before launching into a discussion of the global music marketplace of the last few decades, elaborating on the themes introduced in his earlier work, *Global Pop*. Part of the reason for such dichotomy may be an absence of a well-developed methodology for analyzing popular music in a meaningful way; no doubt when such a methodology is developed it will need to take account of the continuing presence of exotic tropes in the popular music of a postcolonial world.

Throughout the book, Locke considers issues from the point of view of the present-day performer and listener. While much of the book's analysis follows the traditional practice of working from the score, he refers numerous times to a specific performance, as preserved in a sound or video recording or photograph, which captures the issue under discussion in a certain way. After all, for the many staged works he considers, the visual or stylistic components are as important in the representation of the Other as the compositional choices. For popular music, Locke also cites bygone album liner notes as evidence for how the effects may have been interpreted by contemporaneous listeners. The epilogue, devoted to art music, reconsiders these aspects with a practical bent. Locke does not provide easy answers for performers wishing to re-interpret scenes redolent of Orientalist tropes. Opera singers can perform or choreographers can arrange works in ways that challenge the stereotypes in the works, but often with the result that the work coheres less well. That is, frequently the work relies on stereotyped developments for the character motivations to make sense (322-324). In some cases, producers may even replace one tired stereotype with another that may not be so timeworn but is equally thoughtless. The approach most commonly taken with problematic works, as suggested above, is to let the work fall out of the repertory (325).

Locke largely opposes such reinterpretations or banishments, believing that keeping such works in their original context may encourage us to think critically about the stereotypes that they rely upon, and be more thoughtful about what features of our own culture may seem hopelessly naïve or prejudiced in a century or two. He reminds us that, as he concluded his oft-cited interpretation of Saint-Saens's *Samson and Delilah* in 1991, "they [problematic operas] may be hopelessly outdated as any kind of statement about the non-Western regions they ostensibly portray, but what they have to tell us about the West's uneasy relationship to the larger world—and about the West's many internal dissymmetries of race, religion, gender, social class—still rings hauntingly true" (Locke 1991:302). By refusing to interpret Orientalist features in any way other

than hegemonic Self over subjugated Other, scholars project upon historical works their own prejudices and beliefs about the past instead of letting the works speak for themselves, and perhaps hitting on something worth thinking about in our own culture. Drawing largely from an earlier work by Locke, in a 2003 article Matthew Head presents several interpretations of the Self/Other dichotomy other than hegemony, perhaps the most intriguing of which considered Orientalism as a mask for critique of European society (Head 2003:213). Locke himself offers further nuanced interpretations in his engagement with stereotypes of *Aida* (Locke 2005). Those who assert that nineteenth-century viewers would not have been capable of such subtlety in their interpretations, as those who view such operas as noxious would claim, practice blatant meta-Orientalism, which Locke here commendably avoids. Finally, even if no realistic interpretation other than the imperialistic one is possible, keeping such works in the repertory (or at least available in good recordings) provides a context to ground interpretations of other contemporaneous works and awareness of historical cultural norms (39-40).

Locke writes his book in the clear and straightforward style that one would expect from a five-time winner of the ASCAP Deems Taylor award. His register strives hard to not alienate those without a strong musicological background; he glosses many terms and patiently explains musical concepts. In fact, the difficulty of discussing non-programmatic music without alienating those missing the technical vocabulary may be one reason he does not deal with many instrumental works (107-108). In places, he goes a bit far in his attempted inclusiveness—one wonders how many of his readers require an explanation of the C major scale (128-129)—but his intentions are laudable: he is trying to increase the visibility of musical works (particularly those in the art music tradition) in the postcolonial discourse currently much more likely to focus on literature or visual arts. The comprehensiveness of the study, and its disinterest in relying on conventions from traditional music history, will aid such newcomers. Having studied the subject for many years, he has an encyclopedic knowledge of the literature—indeed, he wrote the Grove articles on "Orientalism" and "Exoticism," and here includes an immense and polyglot bibliography. While the most extended examples come from well-known works, he has done his best to seek out others that are seldom cited, let alone performed, to illustrate his claims. After all, the most telling works are in many cases the least likely to survive the test of time, for the reasons argued above.

Across the entire chronological section, none of the works are looked at in the degree of detail that may be found in Locke's published opera analyses (for example, Locke 1991 or 2005); here, for obvious space considerations, he usually chooses to examine in detail a representative aria or two rather than an entire opera. Aside from the necessary brevity of some analyses, there are also differences in his coverage with regard to genre. Serious opera is obviously his greatest concern, as the works discussed at greatest length tend to be operas, and three of the six chapters in the survey section (5, 7, and 8) are devoted almost exclusively to opera

or oratorio. Meanwhile, other areas that would seemingly benefit from his methodology, such as art song, are practically absent (as he notes without an explanation on 61). Nineteenth-century operetta is also mentioned only briefly, though he acknowledges that Offenbach's exotically set works were interpreted in significantly different ways from serious operas (179); one expects a discussion of it could lead to a richer understanding of the meaning of exoticism opera from the perspective of the nineteenth-century audience. Only three instrumental works are examined at length, Mozart's "Rondo alla turca" (K331/iii, 123-126), Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14 (144-148), and Debussy's *Pagodes* (233-236). All these shortcomings I have mentioned not to deprecate the breadth of his work, which is at least as great as any of his predecessors, but rather to acknowledge that much work remains to be done. As he points out in the introduction, the repertoire that would need to be covered in a truly comprehensive study of musical exoticism is enormous (1); though he doesn't claim this to be that truly comprehensive study, his ambitious scope nevertheless does at times disappoint.

On that point, the most obvious deficiency in his book is a near-complete absence of material looking at exoticist music that originates from outside of the West. One assumes that Locke is merely refraining due to intentions of scope or lack of expertise, but he did not choose an exclusive title like Bellman (*The Exotic in Western Music*), and he criticizes unjustified omissions in Taylor, like the jump he makes over the nineteenth century (24). It smacks of Orientalism if there is an implication that other cultures do not (or cannot) portray their Other in various ways, or that they are not worth investigation. Locke addresses these very cursorily (he calls them "reverse exoticisms" when they exoticize the West) in discussions of construction of Self and Other in globalized contexts, in particular citing rap from outside the United States that deals with an exoticized portrayal of African-American inner cities as an example (66-67). The work on multi-cultural composers like Tan Dun is relevant as well. However, a more systematic approach, even if brief, would further put his conclusions in perspective, and further distance his scholarship from assumptions about the East. Thorough though it is, Locke has not written a comprehensive book on Western musical exoticism; he has, however, come as close as anyone yet. One awaits a book that discusses this mirror image of Western exoticism to any similar extent.

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Over two decades of research and publishing of articles in the field of the Other and the musical Elsewhere in Western music have led Ralph P. Locke to propose a thought-provoking book with an in-depth study of various works from the Baroque era to the present. His recently published book, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*, presents not only a compendium of a vast range of analyzed musical material that has not been on the market yet, but also introduces a new approach as well as a new research paradigm in order to tackle the phenomenon of musical exoticism. Therefore, the book could become a benchmark in the field of musicology.

There are two main reasons for the relevance. Even though many exotic works are often the most appreciated items in the concert and opera repertoire, and „exoticism has been a recurrent, defining force in the growth and elaboration of Western art music and its canon of performed works" (p. 2), Locke criticizes that the exotic aspects have been insufficiently examined so far. In particular, Locke is interested in whether and how a work engages in representing anything "extramusical" (p. 16) – a discussion endlessly and controversially carried on within musicology. Locke's study takes a stand in revealing the too often unrecognized context of a given musical work, and tries to show the "interaction between Western exotic musical efforts (on the one hand) and the cultural values, concerns, and prejudices of their day (on the other)" (p. 23).

His work is divided into two main parts: Part I (chapter 1 to 4) is theoretical and gathers, in an essayistic fashion, preparing thoughts and various criteria in order to get some clear guidelines about the diffuse topic of musical exoticism. These chapters lay the conceptual groundwork with a revised definition and a broader-than-usual methodology for the close study of a vast range of works from different genres and centuries carried out in Part II. Chapter 5 to 11 of this second

part illustrate how exoticism has manifested itself, and suggest how musical exoticism has contributed to the definition, growth, and elaboration of the larger enterprise of Western music. Thereby, it has shaped Westerners' sense of who they are and of their relationship to the rest of the world (p. 2). Hence, the book touches also on ethical and political implications, as relevant for the past as for today. Locke's ambitious aim is to explore musical stereotypes that reflect and reinforce prejudices or try to challenge those prejudices.

In his introduction, Locke defines some distinctions that underline the entire book (p.8ff): 1) a distinction between styles that are closely derived from musical practices of the society being portrayed, and styles that are meant to register as exotic but have, in fact, been largely invented by Western musicians; 2) a distinction between cultures whose musical traditions are relatively familiar to Western composers and audiences (e.g. "Gypsy" fiddle bands) and cultures whose musical traditions are not and so cannot be reliably alluded to; 3) a distinction between a music whose style itself is understood as exotic, in that it reflects another culture's *music* and music that portrays the other *culture* itself (as a whole). He also stresses such important (and philosophical) questions such as whether a given musical influence or borrowing is called exotic, and to whom. Also, the author is convinced that the exotic traits that a musical community perceives as being *in* a work are the "product of a relational process between that community and the work" (p. 11). Therefore, Locke points at the "technologies" of listening and quotes the art historian Frederick Bohrer with the words "exoticism (…) *is* reception" (p. 12). Basic considerations like these render the book to an indispensable companion for studies touching exotic aspects in music.

With the attempt of revising the existing definitions and paradigms that have a tradition in musicological research, Locke criticizes Western musicology fundamentally. In chapter 1 he specifies the reasons for what he sees as the unrecognized importance of musical exoticism. In fact, he exemplifies four aspects as the explanation for what he calls the "self-imposed constraints within musicology until now" (p. 20). Firstly, he argues that there is the need of examining a large number of works in order to be able "to sense which ones might be typical, or (…) revealing" (ibid.). Secondly, concerning the intended recourse to ethnic/racial stereotyping in text and/or musical style, a given work can be regarded as uncomfortable and embarrassing to the audience, and within the scholarly and critical discourse – and therefore unperformable respectively unmentionable. The third reason has to do with the hierarchical value system in Western art music and musical criticism. It places religious music at the top in the Renaissance and Baroque era, followed by instrumental music in the so-called Classical period and Romanticism until, more or less and with a few exceptions, modern times. Thus, this value-system "reifies the aesthetic preferences of the various eras in question" (p. 21). The fourth reason deals with the "problem of subtexts", the "longstanding formalist/structural/autonomist bias" (p. 23) of musicology.

This disregard for embracing the context and looking beneath a given work's surface has led to an outright neglect of the social reading of exotic aspects in music.

Based on this description of the musicological status quo concerning musical exoticism, Locke then moves on to introduce his new research paradigm in chapter 3. He distinguishes between two approaches: On one hand, the "standard view" in which the exotic in music comes "from the alien culture" (quoting Jonathan Bellmann) and consists of "non-European elements" (quoting Thomas Betzwieser) (p. 46). Locke proposes the term "Exotic Style Only" Paradigm for this modus, stressing that the term is meant descriptively, not judgmentally (p. 48). He compiles a list of fifteen stylistic features of musical elements that are often employed to suggest an exotic locale or culture – the essential "Exotic Composers' Toolkit" (p. 51ff). But, he argues, "we might profitably consider the non-musical elements in an exotic work (e.g., genre, work title, a opera's plot)" (p. 46) because "we need to pay attention to what the chosen musical materials were intended to signify, in context, and what they have meant to audiences and critics over the years" (ibid.). To label this broader approach he coins, on the other hand, the somewhat awkward term „All the Music in Full Context" Paradigm. By that, he proposes to take into consideration some aspects that previous definitions have generally not addressed:

> "Musical exoticism is the process of evoking (…) a place (…) that is *perceived* as different from home (…). Beneath the surface, the place (…) may be perceived as resembling home in certain ways[,][which] may carry a variety of emotional charges (…). Whereas the differences between Here and There were generally conscious on the part of the creator(s) of the exotic musical work and readily apparent to listeners of the day, the *resemblances* may have been relatively conscious *or quite unconscious* and readily apparent *or not readily apparent*. (…) In any case (…) such broader cultural resonances (…) are likely to fade and be replaced by others (…) thus bring[ing] different values and expectations to the work" (with all accentuations, p. 47).

The author regrets that this new definition remains "woefully incomplete", and adds some further considerations, some binarisms that are inherent in nearly any musical repertoire. With the Then-and-Now binarism Locke wants to include pieces that use the distance in time to get recognized as carrying out an exoticizing project. The Self-and-Other binarism is probably the most evident one even though it has multiple perspectives. With the broad concept of the "Other", the term can be applied to geographical, ethical, racial, and religious differences as well as to the gender category. And since the normative pattern assigns the role of the exoticizer to the (male) Westener, Locke shows along his musical analyzes that most often, the basic category of the Other applies to women (p. 66, but see also p. 82). For example, in many operas of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century dealing with "the Orient", the plot can be summarized as follows: "Young, tolerant, brave, possibly naïve or selfish, white-European tenor-hero intrudes (at risk of disloyalty to his own people and to colonialist ethic, with which he is identified) into

mysterious, brown- or (less often) black-skinned colonized territory represented by female dancers of irresistible allure and by deeply affectionate, sensitive lyric soprano" (p. 181, for this "paradigmatic" schematized plot see also the summary of chapter 8 in this review). Examples are Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*, Verdi's *Aida*, Saint-Saens's *Samson et Dalila*, Delibe's *Lakmé*, and, of course, Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*. Another binarism is the one of Nearness-and-Distance that evokes a place that is felt to be different. Groups often portrayed as "internal exotics" such as the Roma, the Jews, native tribes, or African-Americans, fall into this category. The Real-and-the-Fictive binarism suggests that exoticism arises, for both the makers and users of art, as soon as a work plays upon what we know. Thus the crucial tension between a real location and an imagined one has to be considered within the phenomenon of musical exoticism. The final binarism of Musical-and-Extramusical-Signs intends to deal with verbal indications that leave associations to the imagination of the performer and of the listener. With these widespread binary distinctions as a supplement to the two research paradigms – the "Exotic Style Only" Paradigm and the "All-the-Music-in-Full-Context" Paradigm – Locke tries to establish a method in order to grasp the very diverse exotic music material.

Before closing the more theoretical part of the book and moving to the trends and case studies of chapters 5-11, the author explores in chapter 4 some more subtle questions by asking "Who is 'Us'? The national and/as the exotic, and the treatment of stereotypes". He shows that the line between a specific national style and evoking an exotic region or culture depends, again, on the perspective (of time, culture, etc.). Composers who use a somewhat "national" style will be categorized within music history books in this scope but in the broader comprehension, they function as an exotic product. This can also be a strategy for composers and their personal "niche" in the "ecosystem" of, e.g. the European musical world (quoting Michael Beckerman, p. 76). Thus, "[a]s so often, context determines discourse, and discourse shapes how we listen, respond, and evaluate" (p. 79). Locke urges, in a "frankly anti-formalist spirit", to "start out by establishing that the basic givens in an exotic work (…) were often shaped by (…) an ideologically driven view of the exotic region in question (…). The poetry, music, and performance decisions may intensify, complicate, and even, at times, contradict these basic conceptions, but they never completely efface them." (p. 83). Locke is convinced that a given work can provide information on musical exoticism in socially virulent "Images" and "Reflections" (notice the subtitle). Therefore, one of his main theses is that what makes many art works great and durable, and meaningful to many different kinds of listeners and viewers, is in part that they successfully convey the prevailing ideology of their day (p. 39).

In the main part of the book, Part II, Locke surveys some major developments in musical exoticism in a rough chronological order from the 1700s to the present. The works chosen illustrate and/or represent these developments and

could therefore be called „indicative". The focus on the works analyzed is primarily on what is called Western classical music, but to a smaller extend also popular song, Broadway musical, and film music (by the way, the title should bear the supplement "Western" to indicate the book's main perspective). Some chapters give a broader overview with portrayals of the time and their circumstances; some other chapters are extended case studies – or just brief summaries to relevant trends for a given time. Even though the works are grouped in most cases by chronology and style, and sometimes by genre, the author uses comparison as an important approach. Therefore, some of the case studies will exercise either a grouping by the "nation being evoked" or by the "nation doing the evoking" (guidelines introduced on p. 65f).

Beginning with the Baroque era, Locke proposes Handel's oratorio *Belshazzar* of 1745 as a stereotypical image of a Middle Eastern sultan. Convincingly, he shows that the analyzed scene had a specific political message and that Eastern tyrant Belshazzar symbolized the worst aspects of the Hanoverian king Georg II and the Whig government. While the political take vanished over the years, the reading of Belshazzar as a typically self-centered and pleasure-crazed Eastern ruler remained – even though the notes of the score "do not (as the Exotic Style Only Paradigm would require) sound 'Eastern'" (p. 95f).

As chapter 6 is entitled with "A world of exotic styles, 1750-1880", it develops the idea of an "informal lexicon" – widely understood, yet never written down – of exotic and national styles (p. 107) which arose with a whole range of musical styles and newly important instrument genres. Especially popular was the Turkish style as exemplified in Mozart's "Rondo alla turca", movement no. 3 of his Piano Sonata in A Major K331. By analyzing some "Delightful and vicious Turks" of Molière/Lully, Favart, Gluck, and Mozart, Locke states "that [the style] *alla turca,* in many ways, set the pattern (…) for exotic 'dialects' in Western music and the stylistic experimentation that often went along with them" (p. 118). With the Hungarian Rhapsodies of Liszt the author introduces the subcategory of "internal others", namely of Roma and their "Gypsy music". Liszt himself called the Hungarian-Gypsy music "exotic" and described it as "a kind of opium, of which I am sometimes in great need" (p. 140, quoting Liszt by Alan Walker). Locke does not discuss nor does he mention the critique of Bartók that some of the so-called "Gypsy music" is just borrowed material of Hungarian peasants. Interestingly, this aspect – if an "exotic" material is of "authentic" origin and quality – is not discussed at any point of the book.

The following chapter deals again with Gypsies as "internal others"; this time within the context of a very popular setting in exotic nineteenth-century operas: Spain. Locke's reading of Bizet's opera *Carmen* comes up with a new take on this piece. In the course of one of her arias (Card Aria, Act 3) he suggests that Carmen comes across as more deeply "a Gypsy" than in her patently gypsy numbers earlier in the opera. Even though she has no exotic elements in this part of her musical

language, here we encounter a gloomier stereotype of the Gypsy: superstitious, irrational, and oppressed by fear of fate. Her vocal melody, appropriate to the dramatic situation and to her ethnic identity – despite the lack of Gypsy coloration –, states a unique rhythmic pattern. Paradoxically, Locke shows through the melodic-harmonic analysis of this aria – and by implying the context such as underlying virulent images –, that a musical piece in an opera can convey ethnic or exotic characterization without ethnic or exotic style (p. 169ff). He continues, showing that Carmen becomes an object for empathetic identification for "us", precisely by the avoidance of musical Gypsyisms or Hispanicisms. But primarily, Carmen is presented as *not* being like everyone else, possibly, he concludes, in order to recognize the deep human truth in Carmen's song and hence, to recognize ourselves in the Other.

When entering the realm of opera, a key "region" comes to mind immediately: the exotic Orient. Having discussed the term "Orientalism" and Edward Said's major work on it in chapter 2, Locke concentrates in chapter 8 on the relations between the extending imperialism of the "West" and portrayals of "the Orient". He suggests the thesis "that a single paradigmatic plot drives many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Orientalist operas" (p. 181), that a single schema is valid for all operas of this period. He analyzes works of Bizet, Meyerbeer, Verdi, Saint-Saens, Delibes, and Puccini, but focuses especially on neglected or misunderstood aspects of Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* as, for example, that the piece engages in a critique of imperialism and Western cultural superiority.

With a different approach Locke focuses on chapter 9 and 10 and heads for modern times. Because the interest and the contact with other cultures increased in the twentieth century, a proliferation and higher complexity of musical exoticism in Western music can be observed. For this complexity and the blurring boundary between the exotic and the non-exotic with its resulting variety of approaches to the problem of representing distant cultures, Locke proposes three sub-categories of musical exoticism: Overt Exoticism, Submerged Exoticism, and Transcultural Composing. Even though he observes that in the first half of the twentieth century a significant number of works results from this development, he refers in length only to Debussy – with references to Russian composers from Glinka via Rimski-Korsakov to Stravinsky – and rushes forward to the 1950/60's (in France and the United States). He resumes that Overt Exoticism vanished from the output of some of the composers considered the most advanced. But, he continues, there were many others in the standard art-music genres that did practice Overt Exoticism, often in conjunction with various Submerged-Exotic and Transcultural approaches. These composers tend to fall into 3 groups: 1) Composers from a minority group or "peripheral" culture, 2) Non-modernists, and 3) composers from the Soviet era during the 1950's. Why Locke concentrates on the last group remains somewhat unclear. With a brief outline of Overt Exoticism in popular genres with discussions of light orchestral music and jazz, popular song (again: America and France),

operetta and musical, and finally a very interesting part on the development within film music, the chapter culminates with a remarkable presentation of Bernstein's *West Side Story* within the scope of exotic Otherness. According to Locke, the use of Hispanic dance places the work firmly in the tradition of operas and operettas set in some distant and different-feeling locale. Yet, not only the Puerto Ricans are presented as exotic, but also the native-born New Yorkers must have been nearly as unfamiliar to a mainstream middle- and upper-middle-class audience in the 1950's. The evenhanded portrayal of the rival ethnic groups reveals Bernstein's awareness of how "constructed" ethnic difference can be, especially apparent when the musical is contrasted with standard exotic operas (p. 273f).

The following paragraphs in chapter 10 continue the survey of musical exoticism, now in an increasingly globalized world. Locke examines the broad development and gives an overview of composers from beyond "the Western mainstream" as well as of more common places in Europe and America. With Tan Dun, Chinese born, but living in New York, comes a composer from a formerly popular country of musical exoticism into view. On this occasion the book's innovative capacity is exemplified once again, when Locke takes first steps to incorporate the other side of the "exotic equation": people in countries far from America and Western Europe who often adopt the styles of Western popular music and therefore execute musical exoticism as well (p. 310). Regarding the relevance of this other group he concludes that "they – and Tan Dun most prominently – are using exoticism to try to kill off exoticism, at least in the worlds of concert music and opera", and adds "they may yet succeed" (p. 298). The section about "World Music" is, however, a bit spiritless. In a book about musical exoticism one would expect that this segment of popular music would be given more attention than a mere discussion of the increasing use of world music by the advertising industry (and only applied to the USA) (p. 309).

The last chapter (chapter 11) finally resembles an epilogue on how to keep exotic works alive in the performing and revising context today. Locke suggests that we have to interact with it in a worthy manner, not to rip it apart and to rewrite it, but to get to know it better, "contend with its original context and messages, and think about its implications for today" (p. 325). Furthermore, he proposes to take on the challenge of a "critique/appreciation of musical exoticism" by accepting two "irreconcilable yet equally valid" (ibid.) concepts in a state of creative tension that should not be privileged one over the other: On the one hand, Locke sums up, the exotic(izing) work is essentially a Western cultural product; the work is largely irrelevant to the exotic locale, and the locale is largely irrelevant to the work. But on the other hand, the exotic(izing) work has the power to reflect and even shape the attitude and behavior of Westerners toward the non-Western world, he argues. The enlightened "cosmopolitanism" advocated by Kwame Anthony Appiah seems to Locke "as the best alternative to the deceptive, destructive lures of provincialism and cultural chauvinism" (ibid).

While it might seem a little idealistic, if not romantic, to "believe" in the "healing power" of the arts, Locke opens up wide the perspective for everyone dealing – and even on a more basic level – hearing music. Therefore, his book *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* is an insightful compendium for the well versed scholar in the field as well as the keen amateur. We as the reader can easily realize one of his suggestions, namely re-hearing our personal beloved works. Closing one's eyes and listening only to the music and not to the words, giving no attention to the visual aspects in mind, we could try to set aside the context. A lot of musics might not seem exotic at all, in others we might find "new" (exotic) aspects. This re-hearing out of context might help understand how important the context is with its visual, its wording and their "images" and "reflections" that circulate in the (Western) society. One aim of the book would be fulfilled – to establish the importance of the "context-hearing" (not only) for musical exoticism.

Nina STOFFERS

Right from the beginning (i.e., the cover showing Paul Gauguin's mysterious Tahitian women) the reader is suggested that space or place – something *distant*, however – is the central theme and symbol of the music that is going to be discussed. So, we deal here with the music referring to exotic places, the music drawn on/composed out of either the knowledge of the exotic, or (rather) the dream of it. This is Ralph Locke's key, productively helping him to unlock the ambiguous and often not so obvious musics that claimed to depict or comment on remote, paradisiacal, exotic things, situations, characters, landscapes. Yet, from space and the idea of place one naturally moves to the idea of emotion, feelings, atmosphere – because, indeed, if exoticism is not fantasy and emotion, it is nothing. And music can – by striving to – create or actualize whatever one senses/perceives as exotic, since the emotion a music discharges constitutes the real body of any feeling, idea, perception or (ultimately) concept.

There are no youthful expansions of the main concepts; to Ralph Locke, exotic/exoticism is like orientalism: something always remote, distant, outward (never selfness, never the "domestic" otherness), and never rejected, always appealing. There is, in this book, a constant and skilful ballet traced in between the negative/positive, wrong/right, useful/abusive usage of representational terms (such as exoticism, but not only). Ralph Locke reshuffles and vindicates (at a given moment, for example, he even takes the chance of pleading for the appropriateness of the term "cultural imperialism" – in cases of artistic voluminous inputs). Beyond the massive academic discussion, and the emphasis on the social and political meta-meaning(fullness), one never loses sight, through this book, that the role of music is to produce no holistic, truth-based philosophy, but rather pleasure (at any

cost). Exotic/exoticism is such a subconscious, psychological tool and cost; it is not so much of a concept, rather an imaginary content or allure, meant to charm and transfer the listener's psyche in a fantastic/fantasy realm.

Massive, encyclopedic, this volume is in fact a particular re-make of the history of Western music, as well as a splendid history of some cultural ideas and mental representations – as both applied into the arts and discussed by intellectuals. The musicological journey of this book is as fascinating as the subject itself, because Locke surveys an immense trunk of the musical history – of symphonism, of course –, with no disregard to popular, accessible items (French or Italian opera and operetta), with keen regard for less known or even minor compositions. But prior to the detailed tackling of musical topoi and pieces, Locke opens his book with pertinent theoretical pages: the apology or "vengeance" of the musical critic, of the listening, of musicological wording. In fact, I think that Locke's major contribution is not so much in the minutely survey of works and composers, but rather in the theoretical realm, because he clarifies, thus enlightens and widens the scholarly perception and discussion on whatever is and can be the musical depiction, on exotic or orientalist style, representation, conception (and many other paradigmatic terms).

In their comprehensive reviews, both Lars Christensen and Nina Stoffers (here above) have duly described and discussed the sections and contents of Ralph Locke's book, reason why I will not resume such type of information and emphasis. Avoiding redundancy, my complementing voice comes here rather to stress the consistency of this book's contributions, which makes it a compulsory reference for any academic curriculum of both musicology and the history of cultural ideas or constructs. Because it does happen, at times, musicological research and writing to surpass disciplinary self-sufficiency and autonomy; such cases go more often than not unnoticed by academics specialized in cognate or sister disciplines. Extra-signals or different promotional signs should be hoisted in order to "save" our academic community from inertial/typical ignorance. (I refer here, of course, to the habit of many philologists and philosophers to refrain themselves from approaching musicological studies only because those representatives do not have music literacy, also despite the fact that nowadays more and more musicology-based books come out lacking any pitch notes or staffs.) Briefly put, this is not a book to be opened, studied, discussed and taught only by musicologists (of all sorts).

Professor Locke offers indeed a simple and handy conceptualization, also approachable by non-musicologists, i.e. people involved in cultural studies. Such fellows could benefit from what he presents and classifies as capital paradigms: the "exotic style only" and the "all the music in full context". The entire theoretical discussion – a fight with the massive bibliography of the more or less monographic or eclectic contributions – does not end up with the first section of the book. Part 2, although passing through the history of musical representation of the exotic in

musics over centuries, delves deep into the theories and ideas connected to orientalism, as they took on, where applied to or simply rose up from works of arts (literature included) during centuries.

Important for a very wide range of musicologists and ethnomusicologists, as well as of people doing cultural studies, are the multiple chapters on Gipsy and gipsyness in music, on popular musical genres and on film music. On the last pages Locke comes up with some solutions to the political incorrectness of some older operas (reshaping of the directing, and especially the re-setting – and consequent singers' modern-dressing up – of the stages in neutral, non-original places, landscapes, or times). Which is equally brilliant and ridiculous, but how could he avoid saying something also in this respect? As already suggested, Ralph Locke's work is convincingly complete, a state-of-the-musicological-art that establishes itself as an unavoidable milestone and major reference for any possible/further discussion on music and the exotic or on musical exoticism. More than that, it should be considered from now on a major source and reference for the study of exotic/exoticism/orientalism in general.

Marin MARIAN-BĂLAŞA

Ligia Fulga (coord./Hg.), *Saşii transilvăneni despre ei înşişi / Die Siebenbürger Sachsen über sich selbst.* Vol. I/Band I, Braşov/Kronstadt, Editura/Verlag Transilvania Expres, 2008, 324 S.

Um es vorweg zu nehmen: Der Inhalt des Buches hält, was der Titel verspricht! Vorgestellt werden die Ergebnisse der ethnologischen Untersuchungen in den beiden Dörfern Deutschweißkirch und Meschendorf, die sich nahezu ausschließlich auf Interviews mit sächsischen Gewährspersonen stützen – und diese sind im Buch wiedergegeben. Auf der Grundlage von Befragungen hatte ein Team von Fachleuten des Volkskundemuseums Kronstadt unter der Leitung von Ligia Fulga bereits kurz nach Einsetzen der massiven Auswanderung der Sachsen 1990 damit begonnen, eine systematische Dokumentation der sächsischen bäuerlichen Kultur durchzuführen. Folgerichtig waren die wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiter des Museums in das vom Kulturrat 1991-1998 durchgeführte Projekt der „Dokumentation des siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kulturgutes" mit einbezogen worden (ihnen ist z.B. die Bearbeitung der Stadt Zeiden im Band 3.4 der Denkmaltopographie Siebenbürgen, Kreis Kronstadt, Heidelberg 2002 zu verdanken), während die Zusammenarbeit mit dem Kulturrat über ein Kooperationsabkommen mit dem Siebenbürgischen Museum Gundelsheim festgeschrieben wurde. Wenn die Ergebnisse dieser ethnologischen Bestandsaufnahme – die übrigens über 60 ehemals sächsische Ortschaften Südsiebenbürgens umfasst – erst jetzt das Licht der

Öffentlichkeit erblicken, liegt das weniger an der naturgemäß viel Zeit beanspruchenden wissenschaftlichen Auswertung: Es ist vielmehr die Fragestellung nicht allein nach der Identität der Siebenbürger Sachsen (vor bzw. während der Auswanderung), sondern auch nach einem möglichen Identitätswandel der heute in Siebenbürgen verbliebenen Landsleute – die konsequenterweise eine erneute Befragung der(selben) Gewährspersonen nach einem gewissen zeitlichen Abstand erforderlich machte.

Interviews mit Gewährspersonen gehören seit eh und je zum Repertoire ethnographisch-ethnologischer Feldforschung, deren Aufzeichnungen in der Regel archiviert werden und als Grundlage für die wissenschaftliche Auswertung dienen. Die konsequente Veröffentlichung, d.h. Offenlegung der Befragungen ist ebenso neu wie die vergleichende Wiederaufnahme der Interviews nach 14-16 Jahren und deren Auswertung, wodurch ein authentisches Bild der nach 1990 stattgefundenen Veränderungen bzw. Umbrüche innerhalb der notgedrungen stark reduzierten Gemeinden und des Gemeinschaftslebens entsteht. Die detaillierte Schilderung des traditionellen Kronenfestes in Deutschweißkirch bis 1990 und im Vergleich dazu im Jahre 2005 möge als Beispiel hierfür dienen. Von besonderem Interesse sind die Interviews auch durch ihren „Erinnerungswert", da viele mitgeteilte Fakten der befragten Erlebnisgeneration nicht allgemein bekannt oder aufgezeichnet waren. Wer weiß denn über die in Deutschweißkirch ehemals funktionierende Windmühle – eine für Siebenbürgen äußerst seltene technische Einrichtung – Bescheid, oder über den bis zum 2. Weltkrieg in Meschendorf erfolgreich betriebenen Weinbau? Vermutlich nur einige wenige, in der Hauptsache Fachleute, da eine der wiederum sehr seltenen Baumkeltern aus Meschendorf heute im Dorfmuseum Bukarest zu bestaunen ist.

Diese wenige Beispiel mögen das breite Spektrum und die Vielfalt und Dichte der aufgezeichneten Daten und Fakten vermitteln. Sie beruhen auf dem als „ganzheitlich" zu bezeichnenden methodischen Ansatz der ethnologischen Forschung, mit dem die Kronstädter Fachleute wiederum Neuland betreten haben: Nicht etwa die Trachten allein, die Haus- und Wohnkultur oder die traditionellen Bräuche werden gezielt hinterfragt und untersucht – es ist das gesamte Dorf mit seinen kulturlandschaftlichen und gesellschaftspolitischen Gegebenheiten, das einer umfassenden Dokumentation und wissenschaftlichen Analyse unterzogen wird. Dieser Forschungsansatz geht auf jahrzehntelange Untersuchungen der internationalen Denkmalpflege unter dem Dach des wissenschaftlichen Komitees für ländliche Architektur CIAV von ICOMOS zurück, freilich nur zum „gebauten" Erbe. Es ist das Verdienst vornehmlich der asiatischen Kollegen, den Schlüssel für das Verständnis der vielfältigen Äußerungen der ländlich-bäuerlichen Kultur in der Erforschung des „Dorfes" und damit der Dorfgemeinschaft als kleinste „vernakuläre", d.h. ländliche Einheit gefunden zu haben. Diese wiederum erschließt sich erst durch die Kenntnis der „geo-morphologischen" Gegebenheiten der Landschaft, in die das Dorf eingebettet ist: Topographie, Bodenbeschaffenheit,

Vegetation und Klima sind ausschlaggebend für die Struktur der Dorfanlage, für die Bauweise durch Verwendung der vorhandenen Baumaterialien, für die Art der Beschäftigung der Dorfbewohner, wie Ackerbau, Viehzucht oder Weinbau, die ihrerseits die funktionale Aufteilung, die innere Organisation der Bauernhöfe bedingt. Diese Vorgehensweise bei der Erforschung der ländlichen Architektur ist bislang – weltweit – nur in Siebenbürgen, bei der Durchführung des Projektes Dokumentation des siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kulturgutes angewandt worden, dessen Ergebnisse über die „Denkmaltopographie Siebenbürgen" zugänglich sind.

Für die ethnologische Forschung ist das vorliegende Buch die erste umfassende Arbeit dieser Art, deren ganzheitlicher Ansatz nicht allein den angesprochenen Fachmann, sondern auch den interessierten Laien überzeugen. Die Art der Beschäftigung bedingt nämlich notgedrungen die Arbeitsabläufe der Dorfbewohner, die wiederum zur Herausbildung der Tradition gewordenen Bräuche des dörflichen Gemeinschaftslebens im Jahresverlauf geführt hat. Dass letztere wiederum u.a. die „Kleiderordnung" der Dorfbewohner entscheidend mitgeprägt haben, ist hinlänglich bekannt, und sie sind ein materieller Ausdruck der immateriellen, seit Jahrhunderten gepflegten Kultur des gemeinschaftlichen Zusammenlebens. Folgerichtig finden wir alle erdenklichen Daten zu den beiden Dörfern Deutschweißkirch und Meschendorf, von den landschaftlichen Gegebenheiten über die Dorfanlage mit Grundriss und den kartierten denkmalwerten Bauten bis hin zu der Beschäftigung der Dorfbewohner, ihre Wohnkultur oder die technischen Gemeinschaftseinrichtungen, die Trachten und damit die traditionelle Kleiderordnung – z.B. Alltags – und Festtracht in Abhängigkeit vom Status ihrer Träger, aber auch zu der Organisation des Gemeinschaftslebens, festgelegt aufgrund Jahrhunderte alter bewährter Traditionen, gepflegt von den Nachbarschaften, den Schwester- und Bruderschaften, allesamt unter dem Mantel der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche.

Aus diesem „Gesamtkonvolut" erst erschließt sich die Charakteristik einer ländlich-bäuerlichen Kultur und damit die Identität der Dorfgemeinschaften, wie sie insbesondere bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen – in Abgrenzung zu der rumänischen und ungarischen Bevölkerung, jedoch gleichzeitig innerhalb derselben Kulturlandschaft – über die letzten beiden Jahrhunderte erhalten geblieben ist. Die geschichtlichen Hintergründe zur Herausbildung dieser Identität werden in der Konrad Gündisch zu verdankenden historischen Einleitung prägnant und einfühlsam vermittelt. Die über Interviews aufgezeichneten Informationen der Gewährspersonen haben die Kronstädter Fachleute strukturiert und wissenschaftlich ausgewertet, ergänzt durch historische Fotos aus den Familienalben der Befragten, wodurch authentische Bilder aus vergangenen Zeiten des dörflichen Lebens vermittelt werden. Eine weitere Ergänzung bilden die Fachkommentare von Michael Markel, ehem. Deutschweißkirch, heute Nürnberg. Besonders hervorzuheben sind schließlich die für jedes Dorf ausgearbeiteten Glossare der verwendeten Fachausdrücke in der jeweiligen Mundart, in deutscher und

rumänischer Sprache, die Horst Schuller, dem Autor der Übersetzungen zu verdanken sind.

In Anbetracht der außerordentlichen Dichte und Fülle an Informationen, die das ganzheitliche Bild der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen bäuerlichen Kultur zeichnen, wäre das Buch durch die – durchaus wünschenswerte – Aufnahme weiterer Ortschaften wohl zu unhandlich geworden. So bleibt nur die Hoffnung, dass diesem ersten Band – als sinnvolle, ja notwendige Ergänzung zur Denkmaltopographie – alsbald weitere Bände der neuen Reihe folgen werden.

Christoph MACHAT

Iordan Datcu, *Ioana Andeescu. Eseu despre proza şi studiile sale de antropologie* [Ioana Andreescu: Essay on Her Fiction and Anthropological Writings], Bucureşti, Editura "Grai şi suflet" – Cultura naţională, 2009, 158 p., ISBN 978-973-7692-31-3.

Recuperating – for the national culture – the work of a Romanian writer and academic who lives abroad resembles in many ways the salvation of a soul left suspended in the purgatory's mist. Not just a few people still await for entering their country's culture. Their deeds recommend their recognition, moreover, their honoring, yet most of their conationals seem to ignore that. The one doing this on our behalf is Iordan Datcu, and the scholar that he restitutes to the culture in which she was educated and to which she belongs to is Ioana Andreescu. This volume continues and amplifies the integration effort what the same author has initiated years ago, once he published the *Dicţionarul etnologilor români* [Dictionary of Romanian Ethnologists] and *Dicţionarul general al literaturii române* [General Dictionary of Romanian Literature].

Ioana Andreescu left Romania after, as an editor with the *Editura pentru literatură* [Publishing House for Literature], for nearly a decade and half, she contributed to the launching of some young writers then, generation colleagues such as Sorin Titel, Nicolae Velea, Mioara Cremene or Nicolae Breban, and herself published a first novel, titled *Soare sec* [Dried Sun]. Her crossing on the other side of, then, Iron Curtain, happened in 1972, and was accompanied with an unexpected enlightening of her destiny. Without abandoning the fictional prose – the writer will publish in her adoptive country the translation of her novel initially published in Bucharest (as *Soleil aride*) and a decade later, *Discours sentimental* [Sentimental Discourse] – she will discover, or perhaps just became aware of, the customs of the peasants among whom she was born. In Paris she takes anthropology classes under the supervision of a Romanian mentor, Paul Stahl (who also got to the free world under similar conditions), she steps all the developing phases, and publishes two volumes that no serious researcher in the field will ignore ever since.

Mourir à l'ombre des Carpathes [Dieing in the Carpathians' Shadow] (in cooperation with Mihaela Bacou, daughter of Dumitru Bacu, an exceptionally strong writer, author, among others, of the volume *Piteşti – centru de reeducare studenţească* [Piteşti – Center for Students Reeducation]), describes new aspects, often unexpected, that the funerary ceremonial takes in the world of the communist state. The needs suffered during this time make the one approaching the death to concentrate on the world beyond. He puts his hopes in changes for good in the future; it is in his power to set the fundaments for a better, up to his desires, posthumous living. Compensatory rites take more and more diverse shapes. Uncertain that their kinships will fulfill the customs according to tradition, villagers take to themselves, during their being alive, the care for their own burial. They make their own *pomeni* [alms/funeral gifts giving], and the *parastas* [memorial dinner] – often compared with a wedding banquet – takes place in the presence of the one yet not-died. Often, an old man sees the rehearsal of his own burial. The changes and functional deviations in various moments were promptly noticed by all the readers of this book. For documenting the novelties occurring in the performance of the funeral ceremonial, Ioana Andreescu came from Paris to her native village in Oltenia. Naturally, the event raised the authorities' suspicion; she was watched over, each of her words were interpreted, her field recorded cassettes were about to be confiscated. Later on, the coming out of her volume in the French-speaking space stirred the interest of ethnology researchers. The persistence and even the amplification of traditional customs connected to death in a Marxist country – that declared itself atheist – is perceived as an opposition way, *a sort of counter-power, a protective means for the preservation of collective identity* – as one of the book reviewers noticed.

Où sont passés les vampires? [Where Did the Vampires Go?], published in 1997, with a preface by Geneviève Calame-Griaule, is an investigation on the so complex relationships between the living and the dead, on their solidarity and community. Started with Bram Stocker, the vampirism theme, attributed to the Transylvanian space, got blocked into the horror realm. Reality is far more nuanced, the past of the phenomenon can be traced back to Homer, and in terms of space coverage it is gigantic, North America included. (One and half century ago, in Connecticut there were documented exhumations of dead suspected for afterdeath transmission of their lethal diseases to their own families' survivals.) Ioana Andreescu researched the contemporariness of the ghosts phenomenon in the familiar space of her native Oltenia, a place in which believes in the dead's capacity for returning among the living persisted, and, moreover, recorded a surprising reoccurrence in the last decennia of the 20th century.

As Iordan Datcu notices, Ioana Andreescu has become a bridge between the cultures of Romania and France (where she achieved her works). As a writer, she depicted the daily life of people from a rural community of postwar Romania, their fears, hopes and deceptions during the first years of communism. As an

anthropologist, she is one of the personalities that contributed the better acknowledgment of Romania's traditions and its place in the world culture. This is not little thing, since the most numerous pieces of information on Romania are to be found mostly in tabloids. Ioana Andreescu's case is not unique; the number of Romanians that made Romanian culture known abroad is impressive, and their contribution is worthy of appreciation.

Constantin ERETESCU

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